

# THE INDEPENDENT



ctor



24-PAGE SPORTS SECTION

## Manchester: a city divided

Joy for United – but tears for City

## Nannies? No thanks, we're fine as we are

Families who learned to be good neighbours

MONDAY 6 MAY 1996

40p (IR 45p)

Monday



## Anglican by day, Catholic by night

The holy battle for a London church

UN soldier's video reveals reconnaissance plane was over Qana as shelling killed 100 refugees

# Massacre film puts Israel in dock

## EXCLUSIVE

ROBERT FISK

A dramatic amateur videotape of the Israeli shelling of the United Nations base at Qana last month, in which more than 100 Lebanese civilians were massacred, has convinced United Nations investigators that the Israelis deliberately targeted the UN compound and were well aware that it was packed with refugees when they fired at it.

The colour videotape, a copy of which has been obtained by the *Independent*, clearly shows an Israeli piloted reconnaissance aircraft – used by artillery spotters to perfect their aim – flying over Qana at the height

of the shelling on 18 April. Senior Israeli officers have repeatedly denied to the UN that they were using a low-flying drone at the time, but the tape provides incontrovertible evidence that these statements were untrue.

In Israel last night, the Israeli army – having been told that the video exists – suddenly changed its story and admitted there was a drone over Qana but said – without explanation – that the pilotless aircraft was "on a different mission" and was not sending pictures. The Israelis also said that they made a "cartographic error" and had placed the UN camp 150 yards from its actual position. It also said that when a drone took pictures of the camp two days before the

massacre – on 16 April – they saw "no sign of civilians".

A UN source in southern Lebanon last night ridiculed the Israeli statement. "The UN camp has been in Qana for 18 years. They have pictures of every village in southern Lebanon and know who lives in every house there. Once again, the Israelis are insulting our intelligence. They had been flying drones over Qana for a week before the massacre. And even if they thought there were no civilians in the camp – which we had told them there were – does that mean they thought it was legitimate to shell a UN military headquarters?"

For two weeks the UN source said, the Israelis had been flying drones over Qana.

The damning evidence, pages 8, 9



Now they are saying there was a drone on a different mission". They have a duty to explain what that mission was – otherwise we are standing by the evidence of the eyewitnesses

and the videotape showing the drone over Qana."

The videotape which forced the Israelis to change their story was unequivocal. In two sequences, the propeller-driven

monoplane, which takes television pictures of the ground, can be seen flying low over Qana as shells fall on to the UN's Fijian battalion headquarters. The tape was made by a UN soldier a mile from Qana. By chance, he was carrying his video camera when the Israeli bombardment began. His remarkable film evidence – of which the Israelis were unaware at the time – now forms the focus of the still secret UN report prepared for Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, by Dutch marine General Frank van Kappelen who visited the site of the massacre and completed his interviews with both UN and Israeli soldiers on 26 April.

Much of the UN report was written by a serving British Army officer, Colonel Geoffrey Dodds, who accompanied General van Kappelen to Lebanon, and who – like the general – concluded that the Israeli explanations of the shelling were untrue. Colonel Dodds, a Royal Engineer, works in the general's office in New York.

UNIFIL officers in Lebanon and diplomats of the UN troop-contributing countries – they include Norway, Ireland, France, Poland, Fiji, Ghana and Nepal – fear Mr Boutros Ghali will water down the still-secret report or suppress it in his desire to seek re-election as UN secretary general.

The US government refused to condemn the massacre and accepts Israel's claims that its

American-made howitzers fired "in error" on the refugees under UN protection at Qana while trying to target the source of nearby Hezbollah rockets.

General van Kappelen's report acknowledges that the Hezbollah men who fired two rockets from near the UN base later ran unarmed into the compound but states that the Israeli shelling represented not an error but a deliberate change of trajectory which aimed the Israeli shells at the refugee-packed compound. UN investigators did not find a single Israeli shell impact at the site in a cemetery south-west of the compound from where the rockets were fired.

Leading article page 14  
Letters, page 14

## Blair rift over child benefit cut

DONALD MACINTYRE  
Political Editor

Tony Blair is facing a shadow cabinet split over the controversial idea of withholding child benefit from parents of children still at school and in further education.

Mr Blair and Gordon Brown, the shadow Chancellor, are anxious to see the proposal canvassed as one of the "tough choices" both have warned the party it will have to face between now and the election. But the social security team, led by Chris Smith, is known to have grave doubts about the idea.

That emerged yesterday amid clear expectations that Labour is preparing to reject plans canvassed by the Social Justice Commission for taxing the £500 benefit for parents of all age groups because such a move would face virtually insurmountable practical and political problems.

Senior Labour figures have already made it clear that the controversial idea of removing child benefit from the parents of up to a million children who stay on in school was officially only one of a number of options that could be used to shake up the funding of post-16 education and training.

But in addition to Mr Smith, David Blunkett, the shadow Education Secretary, is also thought to have doubts over whether such a change represents the most practicable method of maximising resources for training and educating young people in lower income groups.

Mr Brown made it clear last month that Labour now had no plans to introduce means testing of child benefit as a whole.

The party leadership has accepted that to raise substantial funds the move would hit middle income groups with potentially disastrous political results

for Labour.

That leaves only two other possibilities: taxing child benefit for upper income groups and removing it from parents of children of 16 and over. Mr Smith's team, with Mr Brown's probable approval, is expected to rule out the former on the grounds that it is a benefit paid directly to mothers, many of whom pay little or no tax in their own right.

If the tax was to be taken from couples it could cut directly across the principle of independent taxation for men and women.

The argument in favour of the latter is that post-16 child benefit is already not universal since it is not paid to parents of young people in work.

Moreover it goes to some of the richest couples in the country who may, for example, be educating their children privately.

However, Mr Smith is known to have serious doubts about any move which could be seen as a disincentive to parents to keep their children at school. Mr Blunkett is also unconvinced that it is the best way of redirecting funds and is closely examining whether the £500 a year spent on the Youth Training Scheme is producing value for money.

Mr Brown dismissed as "fantasy journalism" a Sunday newspaper report that Mr Blair had "overruled" him over his proposals to axe child benefit for parents of 16-19s.

He said: "We are having a review on child benefit. We're looking at every aspect of finance after the age of 16. We will publish the results of our review when it is completed.

"But of course everybody knows that young people at the age of 16 – thousands are denied the opportunity both to stay at school and to go to further education colleges simply because the system of financing is chaotic and it is unfair."



Cup that cheers: Manchester United players show off the Premiership trophy to their jubilant fans after clinching the title with a comprehensive 3-0 win at Middlesbrough yesterday

PAUL NEWMAN

The football season was always going to end yesterday in tears of both joy and sorrow, but the great sporting city of Manchester could hardly have experienced such a day of mixed emotions in its history.

While the red half of the city celebrated Manchester United's third Premiership title in four years, those of the light blue persuasion despaired as Manchester City were relegated.

United went into the final day as clear favourites to win the championship and they did so in the style the country had come to expect of them.

A 3-0 victory at Middlesbrough meant that the title was theirs, no matter what the result a few miles up the road at Newcastle United. In the end Newcastle, who at one stage this

year were 12 points clear at the top of the Premiership table, could not even muster the win that was their only hope, drawing 1-1 with Tottenham Hotspur.

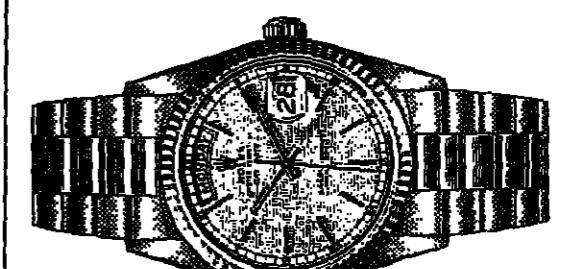
As if Newcastle's misery was not enough, one of United's goals was scored by Andy Cole, a former Tyneside hero.

City have been the second team in Manchester for longer than their fans care to remember and yesterday they suffered the ultimate humiliation. Despite recovering from a 2-0 deficit at half-time, a 2-2 draw at home to Liverpool was not enough to save them from relegation to the First Division.

Southampton, Coventry City and Sheffield Wednesday, who had been the other candidates for the drop, all drew and lived to fight another Premiership day.

Sport, Section Two

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## IN BRIEF

### Mother's hope

The foster mother of a 10-year-old Zulu boy who was flown to South Africa after a bitter custody struggle, is confident he will soon be back with her in England. Page 3

### REBECCA FOWLER

They are viewed as the slickest of professionals, pariahs in suits who drive smart cars and stop at nothing for their careers. But the nation's lawyers say the reality is a grim contrast, and they are so persecuted and disillusioned that most of them are looking for new jobs.

The dismal picture of life as a lawyer emerged in a survey of 700 solicitors published today in *Lawyer* magazine. They say that

they are victims of intolerable stress and bullying in the workplace; their personal lives are in tatters; and 8 out of 10 of them are looking for new jobs.

Mary Heaney, editor of *Lawyer*, said: "The findings reveal a disgruntled, demoralised profession. It is a stark warning that the legal profession must adapt to cater from pressures from within and outside the profession."

Despite their ruthless image, lawyers are concerned by the low esteem in which they are held by the public.

Britain has moved in the same direction as America, where the endless jokes at the

expense of lawyers recently prompted calls for them to be classed as a persecuted minority in California.

However, male lawyers in Britain acknowledged that their female colleagues had the worst deal of all. Two thirds of female lawyers in private companies said that they had been overlooked during the selection process for full partners in law firms.

One female lawyer claimed that she was told her career

would flop unless she accompanied a male client on an evening out after a meeting. The profession is currently locked in a fierce debate over the status of women in the law, with many claiming that the best jobs are still given to men.



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## Fatty issue sparks food protest

Plans by the food giant Procter & Gamble to introduce a revolutionary and controversial "fat-free fat" into Britain will go ahead despite claims that the product has unpleasant side-effects.

Olestra has already been approved for use in snack foods by authorities in the United States, and crisps containing the product are being test-marketed among American consumers by the potato chip manufacturer Frito-Lay.

But safe food campaigners in Britain claim that the substance is "anti-nutritional ... and will not encourage healthy diets". Dr Tim Lohstein, co-director of the Food Commission, said: "There have been complaints from people trying olestra that it 'leaks', leading to stained underwear, and that it makes the toilet oily."

Because of its unique chemical composition, olestra, which is manufactured from sugar and vegetable oil, adds no fat or calories to food. But the US Federal Drug Administration, in backing the product earlier this year, said it may cause cramping and loose stools. It concluded that the side effects would not normally carry medical consequences, but that labels should advise consumers to stop using olestra if necessary.

Lindsey Williams, UK public affairs manager for Procter & Gamble, confirmed that the company had applied to the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food for olestra to be approved in Britain. He declined to confirm that Pringles potato chips would be among the first products to contain olestra if it was sanctioned.

Mr Williams dismissed the Food Commission's fears as "an old chestnut", insisting that the problem of "oley leaks" may have existed early on, but had now been solved. "What olestra does is allow people to enjoy the great taste of fat without actually having fat in their diet," he said.

Mr Williams insisted that olestra was not being sold as a slimming aid, but as a healthy alternative to fat.



Missing person: Salome Stopford in her foster son's bedroom at their home in north London, above, and a school picture of Sifiso, right

Photograph: Kalpesh Lathigra

him was 'be strong, you are a Stopford'. The last thing he said to me was 'I love you mummy'." Attempts to put the boy on an airplane on Friday were abandoned because of his distress.

On Saturday night the boy

grievances aside. I feel that he has been used as a political football. If this boy was white or I was black I don't think that there would have been a problem at all."

His room in the flat in Maida Vale is ready for him to return. Although many of his toys went with him to South Africa, his television and video games are still in London, together with his pet hamster, a large teddy bear and a poster of his hero Spiderman on the wall.

Mrs Stopford spent yesterday trying to telephone Sifiso without joy. The boy looked miserable when he arrived at the Mahlangu's home after the flight with his beaming father. When the latter was asked how he felt, he replied: "Look what is on my face."



The last thing I said to him was to be strong. The last thing he said to me was 'I love you mummy'

case. They should have given him a week's stay until after the hearing. I think it was barbaric. I really do."

She last saw him on Friday night when she left him at the Solicitor General's office. She said: "The last thing I said to

was driven to the airport in the back of a British Airways limousine 25 minutes before his flight was due to take-off.

Plainly upset, Sifiso held back his tears as he was escorted on to the 747-400 by two plain-clothes police officers.

On Saturday night the boy

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On Saturday night the boy

## Dixons investigated over second-hand goods claim

GLENDY COOPER

Consumers were warned yesterday to be alert for second-hand electrical goods sold as new after it emerged that a major High Street chain has been investigated by more than two-thirds of trading standards offices in England.

Dixons, which also trades as Currys, has also been investigated by more than 22 out of 30 county trading standards offices according to a survey in a Sunday newspaper.

It found that in the previous two years 13 counties had prosecuted the company and five had issued formal cautions. Another 12 were contemplating prosecution.

The Trades Descriptions Act and the Sale of Goods Act both say that goods have to be as described. Therefore for a product to be called "new"

there should have been no transfer to anyone else between the shop and the purchaser.

"Even if something is bought and then brought back the next day it is still second-hand," said a spokeswoman for the Department of Trade and Industry.

Many used goods, which have been estimated as 1 per cent of the company's stock, have been correctly labelled and discounted but some local trading standards officers have reported second-hand goods bought as new.

Surrey successfully prose-

cuted Dixons for selling a video recorder as new when it had been returned as faulty.

The customer discovered the previous owner's TV licence when it fell out of the instruction book.

The company was also fined last month when Kamlesh Ireran from Slough found personal data including private telephone numbers stored on his computer by the previous owner.

A spokesman for the Consumers' Association said: "It

should be very clear what consumers are buying, and that they are not being misled. People will assume that goods are being sold for the first time unless they are told otherwise."

But a spokesman for Dixons said the company had a strict procedure to guard against returned goods being mistaken for new ones.

"Our policy is that second hand goods are clearly marked as such," he said. "We have over 800 stores, 10,000 employees and 20 to 25 million transactions each year."

"We're talking about successful prosecutions in single figures. It's a very small amount and we're constantly reviewing our policy."

Consumers have also claimed that they found socks in new tumble driers, pre-programmed numbers of new faxes and other people's messages on new answer phones.

Dixons: "Talking about prosecutions in single figures"

## Daughter of police chief dies at party

A policeman's daughter died yesterday at an all-night house where tablets were handed out among the guests.

Claire Pierce, 20, was found dead on a settee at a house in Meden Vale, Nottinghamshire. Friends thought at first she was asleep but found her cold and raised the alarm. A police doctor certified her dead.

At a news conference yesterday, Superintendent Mick Salt, of Nottingham police, said the girl's father, Roy, was a survivor of the coroner.

Claire, who worked with her mother Ruth as a bereavement consultant, had left home in Mansfield at 10pm on Saturday. She is thought to have gone to a pub for a drink before arriving at the party.

Stupt Salt said the partygoers were being interviewed. "We do know they had been drinking alcohol and some tablets had been circulated, but at this stage we don't know what type they were."

A Home Office pathologist is carrying out a post mortem

examination. There will then be a toxicology report on her blood."

Stupt Salt said the result would not be known before Wednesday. "At present we are interviewing the 15 people who were in the house but there may be others we have to see."

"There is no suggestion at this stage that it is a criminal inquiry, and no one has been arrested. We are making investigations on behalf of the coroner."

"No tablets were found but we know they were there. There is clear evidence from people we have interviewed that they were being handed around the group."

"But no one else has suffered any ill-effects. For all we know, Claire had just won a place as a student nurse at St James's Hospital in Leeds. She had an elder brother, Mark, 23, who has just left the Army."

Claire had just won a place as a student nurse at St James's Hospital in Leeds. She had an elder brother, Mark, 23, who has just left the Army.

Her father is divisional commander at Beeston, Nottinghamshire. Mr Salt said: "Her family are totally devastated."

## Men top table in work bias cases

BARRIE CLEMENT  
Labour Editor

per cent for women. EOC officials point out that traditional male jobs – especially for the skilled and semi-skilled – have declined and men are increasingly being forced to look elsewhere for work. EOC officials say many of the claims from men involve applications for jobs seen as "as women's work".

Men seeking employment as secretaries, receptionists, nannies, clerks and shop assistants are often faced by employers who make it clear that they would prefer to take on a woman. A lot of male employers believe that women are more compliant and that they will work for lower wages. Some companies also believe that an attractive woman is more appealing to customers.

The battle of the sexes is now changing with men often finding the hunt for employment more difficult than women. Complaints to the EOC from men in 1995 were 10 per cent up on the previous year with record numbers suing for compensation.

The data from the EOC reveals a fundamental change in the labour market where male unemployment now stands at 10.5 per cent, compared with 4.3

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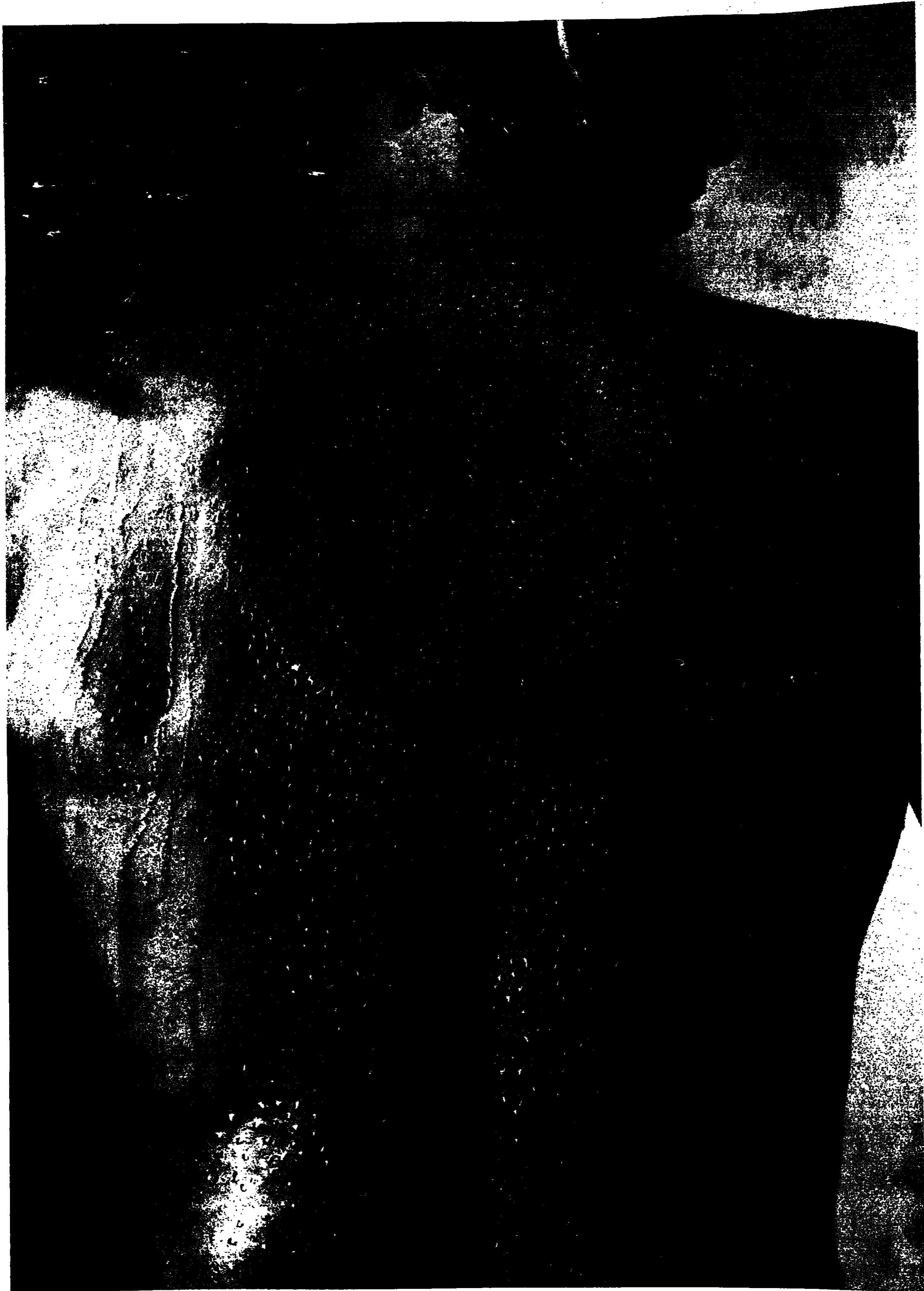
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**Labour scandal: 'Party within a party' accused of vote-rigging**

## Secret report exposes council's ruling clique

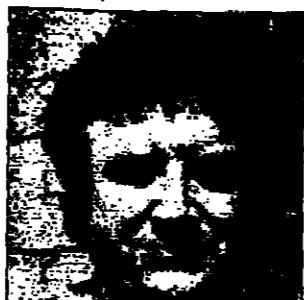
STEVE BOGGAN  
Chief Reporter

A secret report into the ruling Labour group on Hackney council in north-east London has found evidence of vote-rigging, the establishment of a party within a party and an almost total breakdown of political discipline.

Senior Labour Party officials sent in to investigate the rogue council found *prima facie* evidence that one Labour councillor had been involved in election malpractices which resulted in the election of three Conservatives in 1994.

Further, they discovered that a caucus of Labour councillors calling itself the Manifesto Group was formulating policy in private to the exclusion of other members.

One such meeting, described as "wholly wrong and inappropriate", decided that support would be given to Bernard Crofton, Hackney's controversial housing director, who was described in an official report this week as a liar and a fraud. Frank Field, the Labour chair-



Bernard Crofton: Support was 'wholly wrong'

not exist at all. Others were children, or not British nationals."

Some time later, Mr Liebowitz sent a Jewish New Year card to Denise Robson, one of the Labour candidates denied victory in the Northfield ward. In it, he wrote: "I take this opportunity to ask you for forgiveness and apology for all the wrong I have done to you or spoke about you. I hope you will find it in your heart to forgive me and we will be good friends again."

Ms Robson asked Mr Liebowitz to elaborate on his apology. She received no reply.

Mr Liebowitz rejected the allegations against him. "I will vigorously contest these charges," he said. "I categorically deny them. They are totally untrue, totally fabricated."

Mr Phillips said: "I understand a report has gone to the NEC and they have set up a Disputes Panel that is having hearings at the moment. Until that has finished I can't comment on any of these matters and I am not at liberty to discuss the allegations about the Manifesto Group."

Further, it says it misled the party about his debts when applying to become a Labour candidate. He "claimed to have no outstanding obligations". In fact, he had a court order on payment of court costs on Community Charge Arrears.

The report's most astonishing findings, however, relate to Mr Liebowitz. It says: "There is strong *prima facie* evidence that Isaac Liebowitz was involved in two areas of malpractice surrounding the 1994 London Borough elections... Cllr Liebowitz... is allegedly implicated in membership packing and proxy vote fixing generally and in Northfield Ward in particular."

An affidavit, by a senior Labour councillor, submitted to the NEC and obtained by the *Independent*, alleges that five wards in Hackney were "packed" with Orthodox Jews, many of whom were recruited by Mr Liebowitz and some of whom did not appear on the electoral register. In the Northfield Ward, established members were replaced by officers with no previous interest in politics, including a secretary who "vanished" after a couple of months.

When the elections came, all three seats in the ward - Labour-held for more than 20 years - were won by Conservatives in the only Tory gain in the whole of London. Subsequent examination of voting records showed an enormously high level of proxy votes.

The report says: "Some of the proxy voters/members did not and never had resided at the addresses used and even, possibly, that they were people who did

### Senior officials found evidence of election malpractices

man of the Commons Social Services Committee, has said he backed Mr Crofton.

The Hackney report, which calls for the suspension of two senior councillors, found such a "basic failure to understand - and a lack of knowledge and respect for the National Rules and Procedures of the Labour Party" that it even recommends making all Labour's 43 councillors re-sign their allegiance to the party and its rules.

Labour's Walworth Road headquarters is holding a series of interviews with councillors and is also seeking more written evidence.

The two councillors facing suspension from the party, pending a further inquiry by Labour's National Executive Committee, are David Phillips, the constituency agent, and Isaac Liebowitz, a member of Hackney's Orthodox Jewish community.

According to the report, Mr Phillips "participated in, as-

## Decision day for scheme to save the red squirrel

NICHOLAS SCHOON  
Environment Correspondent



If it were up to the public, the red squirrel would easily head the list of 116 British plant and animal species for which rescue plans have been proposed. Not one of the other threatened or declining species has won quite so much pity or affection.

The small red rodent's extinction clock started ticking when the larger, more adaptable grey squirrel was introduced here from North America in the late 19th century. Once greys have arrived in an area the reds vanish 15 years later.

This month, the Government will belatedly give its response to the rescue plan, which were drawn up by a large committee of wildlife charities, civil servants and Government and academic scientists.

The list, a follow-up to the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, was unveiled last December. Now the wildlife conservationists are waiting to see how committed ministers are to turning plans into actions.

The price tag for saving the red squirrel is put at £220,000 a year over and above what is already being spent on conservation efforts - making it

among the most expensive creatures on the list. The Government is being asked to share the bill with sponsors and charities.

There are about 160,000 red squirrels left, mostly in Scotland, while the number of greys has climbed to 2.5 million. They are better adapted than the reds to Britain's wet, deciduous and highly fragmented woodlands.

Greys can live in higher population densities and are much more capable of moving across the open country. They are also better at digesting one of the most important available food items, acorns, and they breed faster.

The reds, whose optimal habitat is the drier, coniferous forest of the Continent, are expected to vanish from all but a few patches of England shortly after 2000, and from Wales thereafter, unless effective ways of controlling the grey squirrels are brought in. Only in the Scots Pine forests north of the border is there a good chance of them meeting the competition once the greys arrive. Red squirrels are also still widespread in Northern Ireland.

A foolproof way of controlling greys while safeguarding the reds has yet to be devised. The Forestry Commission has been researching a food hopper which can give poisoned bait to greys but not to the smaller reds.

Techniques for managing woodlands in a way which favours the reds are also being investigated. One proposed action is to create eight square miles of coniferous forest reserves in Wales.



Well-loved: The red squirrel is losing ground to the grey

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## news



Early birds: Competitors at the world worm-charming championships at Blackawton, Devon, yesterday. This year's event, billed as the first Worm Olympiad, was won by the local Churchill Charmers who lured 42 worms to the surface in their allotted time

Photograph: Tim Cuff

**Education battleground:** Changes in marking prompt anxiety □ Police to curb adult violence

## Teachers' exam preview 'is cheats' charter'

JUDITH JUDD  
and FRAN ABRAMS

Teachers from nearly three in four secondary schools have already seen the questions for this year's national English tests for 14-year-olds, which begin on Wednesday.

The decision to disclose questions and model answers to all teacher markers before the tests is unprecedented. GCSE and A-level questions are kept under wraps until the day of the exam.

Although the teachers

have been asked to sign confidentiality agreements, there is concern that some may inadvertently, or even deliberately, leak the questions to pupils.

Exam officials say they need to use this year's questions in training sessions for 2,600 markers to ensure that marking is fair in the tests for 600,000 14-year-olds. Last year, the standard of marking in English tests was widely criticised and 20,000 pupils had their grades changed on appeal.

Teachers said some of the brightest pupils had not been awarded high enough grades and some of the least able had scored too highly because the markers were inexperienced. This year, officials at the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), which organises the tests, have insisted on more rigorous training for markers. It began on Saturday and was organised by the five GCSE exam boards.

During training, all markers were given this year's questions and senior markers helped them decide what sort of answer would be appropriate for each "level". Under the national curriculum, pupils progress along a scale ranging from levels 1 to 8 with most 14-year-olds expected to reach level 5 to 6.

David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, said: "It does seem very strange and worrying that so many individuals will have seen the tests before they are taken. I hope that this

exercise does not undermine their validity."

Doug McAvoy, general secretary of the National Union of Teachers, said that with the best will in the world it would be difficult for markers not to pass on hints to their pupils. "It is impossible to believe the teaching of some of those involved will not be influenced by their knowledge. This will advantage some pupils over other pupils and underlines the deficiencies which continue to exist in the Government's system of testing."

An SCAA spokeswoman said: "We have put in more training for markers this year to get better quality marking. We have left this as late as we can. Pupils take the test on Wednesday and Monday is a bank holiday so there will be only one working school day between the training and the tests. To get the training done, we have to start before the tests begin."

"Papers from each school will be marked by an individual marker and it won't be the pupils' own teacher so, if they have been coached, it will show."

Until last weekend, only around 100 senior markers had seen the questions.

For those teachers who are not markers, security has been tightened after allegations of cheating last year. Schools will be forbidden to open the papers until the day of the test and teachers will be told not to look at the mark scheme and answers until the tests are over.

## Parents could face arrest

FRAN ABRAMS  
Education Correspondent

Aggressive parents who intrude on school premises could be arrested under new police powers proposed by a government working party on school security.

Ministers are also expected to announce that the group, set up after the murder of the London head teacher Philip Lawrence last December, will turn its attention to the growing crisis over school discipline.

The report on security, drawn up by Home Office and education officials along with local authorities, teachers' unions, parents' groups and charities, will be presented to Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education, in the next few days.

It will address growing concern over violent pupils and intruders who pose a threat. Teachers' unions say that these intruders are often parents or older brothers who storm in to complain about the disciplining of an offender. Recent cases have included a father who threatened to throw a head teacher through a window in a

row over his six-year-old son and a male secondary school teacher attacked by the older brother of a disruptive pupil.

Commissioned after the stabbing of Mr Lawrence outside St George's Roman Catholic School in Maida Vale, the report was added to after the Dunblane massacre. Although its authors say little could have been done in that case, they have recommended new police powers to deal with unwelcome visitors.

The move will involve an amendment to the 1984 Local Government Act, which allows police to remove intruders from schools with permission from the staff. They will not only be able to ask them to leave, but also will be allowed to arrest them.

A separate measure already being put in place under a Private Member's Bill introduced by Lady Olga Maitland will define a school as a public place so that police do not need permission to enter or to search pupils for weapons.

The security group has agreed that it will continue to meet to discuss problems of school discipline.



Tourists will great out

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## New call to curb passive smoking

LIZ HUNT  
Health Editor

A leading cancer charity today renew its call for tougher tobacco controls and legislation to protect non-smokers, following a review of lung cancer and smoking in the UK.

The Cancer Research Campaign says the disease claims 37,000 lives each year and there are more than 40,000 new cases annually.

It remains the most common cause of cancer mortality, with 100 deaths every day.

Numerous health education campaigns have failed to make an impact on the proportion of new recruits to smoking, and the government target of less than 20 per cent of adults smoking by 2000 is unlikely to be achieved.

Professor Gordon McVie, director-general of the CRC, said that government health campaigns which cost less than £10m a year have to compete with the tobacco industry's annual advertising budget of £100m.

The CRC wants an outright ban on advertising and promotion; a greater commitment by government to help people

quit, and new laws to protect non-smokers in public places.

It is estimated that one person dies every day from lung cancer caused by passive smoking. The Government target for 80 per cent of public places to have effective anti-smoking policies by 1994 has not been met.

More effective methods for preventing young people from starting to smoke are also required, the CRC says.

It is estimated that the Government receives more than £100m a year in tax on cigarettes sold illegally to children under the age of 16.

Smoking surveys began in 1948, when 82 per cent of men smoked some sort of tobacco and 65 per cent were cigarette smokers. By 1970, the figure had fallen to 55 per cent, and to 28 per cent by 1994.

For women, the pattern is different. In 1948, 41 per cent of women smoked. By 1970, the figure was 44 per cent, falling to 26 per cent by 1994.

■ Lung Cancer and Smoking - UK Factsheet 1996; Cancer Research Campaign, Cambridge House, 10 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1 4JL.

Conflict in Cairngorms: Heritage body to rule on £17m mountain railway for skiers and walkers opposed by conservationists

# Jobs versus nature in battle for mountains

STEPHEN GOODWIN

The credibility of Scottish Natural Heritage will be on the line tomorrow when the conservation agency's board meets to reconsider its objection to the £17m plan for a funicular railway on Cairn Gorm.

Magnus Magnusson, chairman of SNH, and his fellow board members are in a bind. If they decide the developers have met fears about too many boots trampling the high mountain plateau and give the project their blessing, SNH will be accused of betraying its conservation duty.

But if the objection is maintained there will be protests from Highland councillors that the agency is setting the concerns of "outsiders" in lobby groups above the need to provide jobs and replace antiquated Aviemore ski facilities.

The Cairngorm Chairlift Company wants to build a 2km railway on 93 concrete pillars almost to the summit of Cairn Gorm, at 1,245 metres one of



Model future: An artist's impression of the funicular railway and visitors centre. Photograph: Peter Jolly

spill out on to the plateau, the RSPB and others could well take their fight to Europe.

The chairlift company is hoping to get up to £13m of the cost from public funds, including £6m from the EU. However, funding must not breach the EU's own environmental law.

Lloyd Austin, the RSPB's conservation officer in Scotland, said in the event of SNH giving way, the RSPB would consider legal challenges, "potentially involving the European Court of Justice".

The RSPB has joined with the Scottish Wildlife and Countryside Link and another body, Save the Cairngorms Campaign, in proposing a £14m alternative that they claim would be less of a blot on the landscape and likely to create more jobs – 55 full-time equivalent jobs compared to 50 with the funicular. Instead of a funicular there would be a gondola running from the Glenmore forest in the valley, where there would be a visitor centre and car park. The top section would be a chair lift open for skiers only.

The impact on the mountain of the two schemes would be radically different. Outside the skiing season, the funicular could carry a hoped-for 250,000 people a year. The alternative would erase the eyesore of the existing vast car park part-way up the mountain, close the approach road and recreate a "long walk in" for summer climbers and walkers.

Campaigners are optimistic that SNH will maintain its objection – a decision taken by eight votes to four behind closed doors in March. Mr Magnusson was said by sources to be sympathetic to the scheme at the time but may feel sealing the visitor centre destroys any "mountain experience".

A further blow came last week in a letter to Hamish

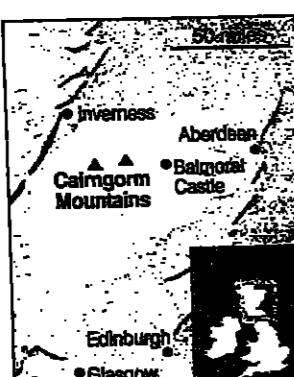
how an environmental exhibition, "no matter how much is spent on it", would have sufficient drawing power.

Bill Wright of the Save the Cairngorms Campaign, said he would be "surprised" if SNH changed its mind. "The funicular gives all the wrong messages about the protection of wild places. Nor would there be a quality experience for visitors."

But the chairlift company believes it has met SNH's objection. "We hope the board will feel happy that the closed system meets the needs of the EU directives," said communications manager Tania Adams, adding that the company had looked at the gondola idea and found it "flawed". It would be more at the mercy of high winds on the mountain.



Up in the air: Tim Wittome, chief executive of the Cairngorm Lift Company, takes a ride. Photograph: Colin McPherson



Britain's highest mountains. Highland Council voted last month to support the funicular subject to the SNH objection being withdrawn.

With a semi-arctic climate, the Cairngorm mountains are regarded as Britain's finest tract of wild land. The plateau is the nesting ground of several rare birds, notably dotterel, snow bunting and ptarmigan. Land adjacent to the ski area is owned by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB).

Proposed as a World Heritage Site – though unlikely to get this international accolade if the funicular goes ahead – the Cairngorms are already subject to the European Union's most stringent protection for birds and natural habitats. If SNH drops its objection in response to assurances that summer funicular users will not be able to



Under threat: the ptarmigan, left, and dotterel, two rare species who nest in the Cairngorm mountains.

## Tourists warm to great outdoors

Last summer's high temperatures brought a significant increase in the number of people visiting outdoor attractions, it was revealed yesterday.

Trips to country parks rose by 7 per cent in 1995 while the number of visitors to gardens went up 5 per cent, the British Tourist Authority said. Historic properties welcomed 4 per cent more visitors. Overall, visits to tourist attractions increased by 2 per cent in 1995 compared with 1994. The BTA statistics showed that last year ...

■ Visitor centre numbers rose 4 per cent.

■ Visits to farm attractions were up 3 per cent and steam railways rose 2 per cent.

■ The number of tourists visiting museums and galleries fell 3 per cent.

■ Visits to workplaces were down 2 per cent, while leisure

rose 1 per cent.

The leading fee-charging attractions last year were:

Venue	Admissions
1. Alton Towers, Staffordshire	2,707,000
2. Madame Tussauds, London	2,703,283
3. Tower of London	2,536,680
4. Chessington World of Adventure, Surrey	1,770,000
5. Science Museum, London	1,556,368
6. St Paul's Cathedral, London	1,500,000
7. Windsor Castle, Berkshire	1,212,305
8. Blackpool Tower	1,205,000
9. Thorpe Park, Surrey	1,166,000
10. Natural History Museum, London	1,064,273

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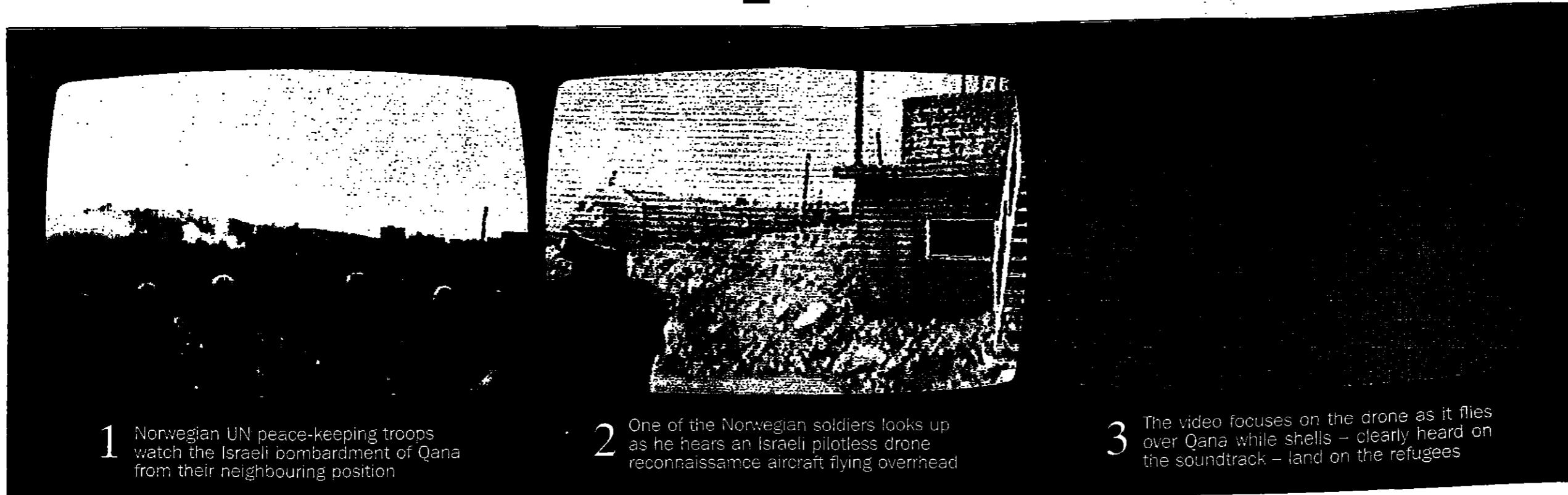
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## MASSACRE AT QANA

## A soldier's video pictures that show



1 Norwegian UN peace-keeping troops watch the Israeli bombardment of Qana from their neighbouring position

2 One of the Norwegian soldiers looks up as he hears an Israeli piloted drone reconnaissance aircraft flying overhead

3 The video focuses on the drone as it flies over Qana while shells – clearly heard on the soundtrack – land on the refugees

## Spotter plane seen over UN compound

ROBERT FISK  
Qana

It is a soldier's videotape, recorded – at the start at least – as just another incident to remember back home by a United Nations trooper after his six months' tour of duty in southern Lebanon are over.

Indeed, when the camera first records the Israeli shells tearing into the UN base at Qana, the other soldiers who appear in the film, most of them Norwegians in the UN's Force Mobile Reserve opposite Qana, seem unaware of its implications. One of them makes a joke, another looks gawky into the camera even as it tapes the clouds of smoke obscuring Qana. The camera pans through barbed wire as more brown puffs of smoke emerge from the white-painted buildings of the UN's Fijian battalion headquarters.

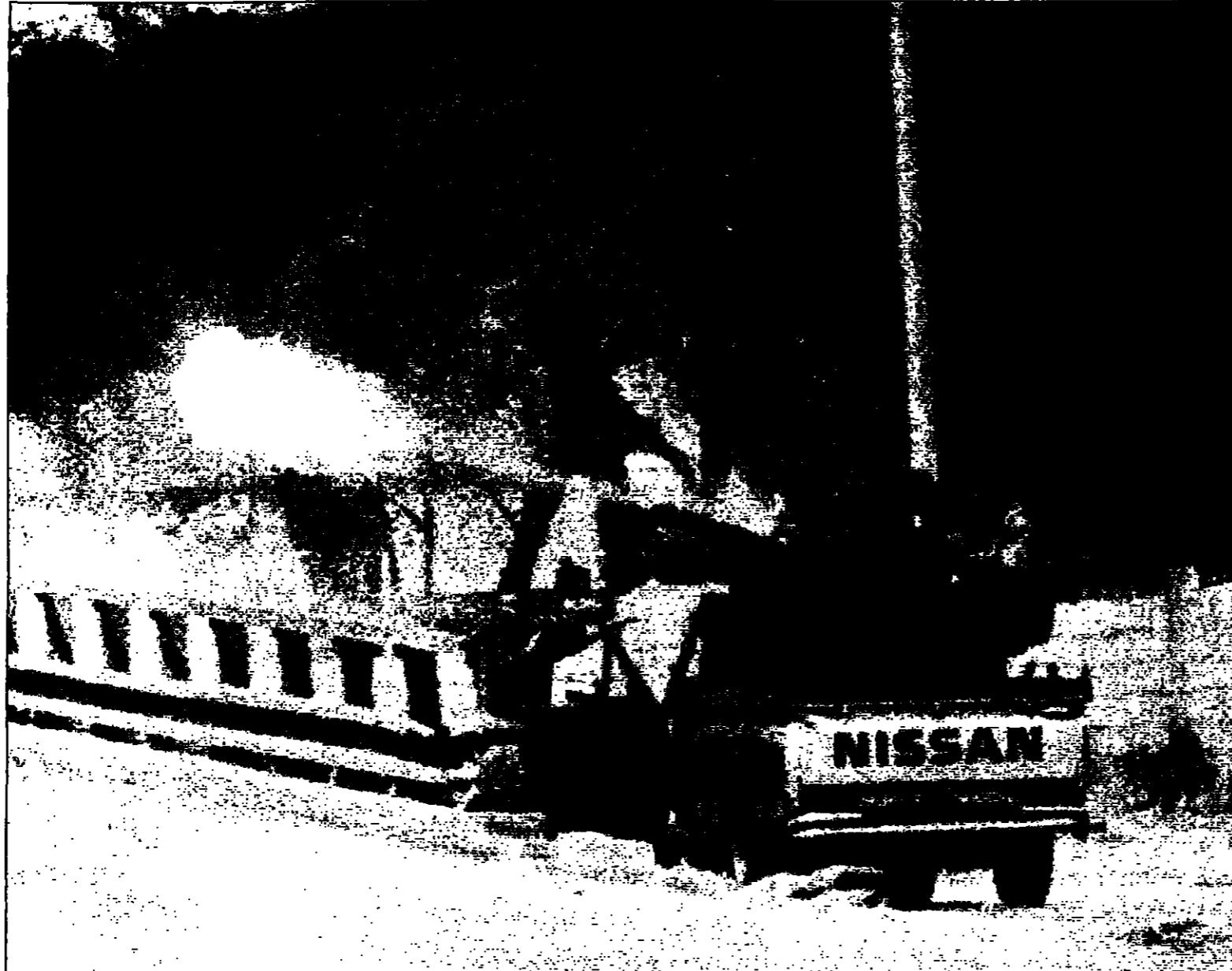
Then UN officers can be seen at an observation post staring at Qana as the Israeli shells rain onto their colleagues and the helpless refugees across the valley. A group of Norwegian soldiers talk excitedly and the camera, its owner obviously growing aware of the gravity of the situation, moves in close-up towards Qana with a zoom lens until the videotape is filled with drifting smoke. Shortly afterwards, the sound-track picks up the familiar buzzing sound of the Israeli "drone", final and irrefutable evidence that later Israeli denials were false – until the Israelis changed their story last night.

Refugees and UN officers had all talked of hearing the Israeli artillery "spotter" aircraft before and during the Israeli attack on the UN base. But here at last, in living colour, was the proof: distinct pictures of the small Israeli aircraft over Qana, the plane that the Israelis – for two weeks – claimed was never there.

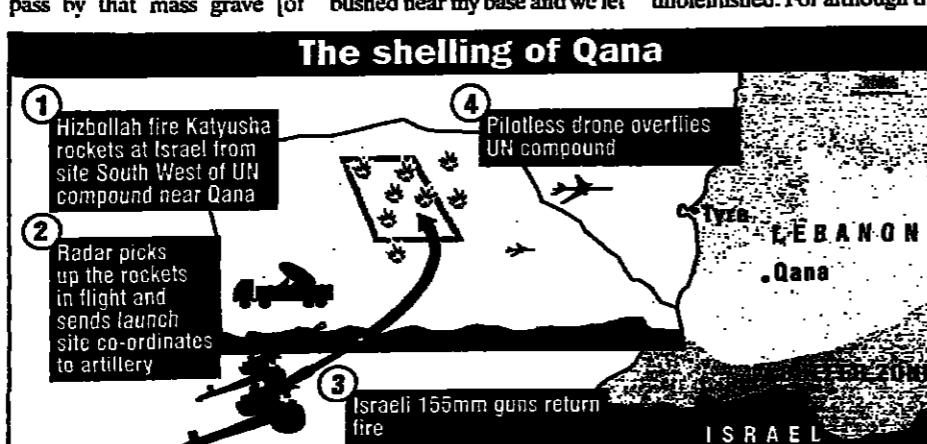
One of the UN soldiers who saw the video being made says that neither he nor his colleagues understood in the first few seconds what was happening at Qana. "We know the Israelis are perfect in their accuracy. The previous day, when Katyushas had been fired a couple of miles away, we saw the Israeli return fire come back on the launch site with complete accuracy. We felt so safe about the Israeli artillery that we never went indoors when shells flew over."

"They know we were here and so they never hit us. So we didn't even wear flak jackets when there were shell warnings. The Israelis knew what they were doing. And then we saw Qana and by the end, none of us believed it was an accident. Yes, the Israelis knew what they were doing. What do you think the 'drone' was for?"

A UN officer from a Nato na-



Provocation: Hezbollah guerrillas near Qana firing their Katyusha rockets at targets inside Israel. Afterwards they ran into the UN compound



## Peres's uncertain fate casts shadow on Palestinian talks

ERIC SILVER  
Jerusalem

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators yesterday began the long, tortuous process of defining their permanent relationship in the disputed strip of land between the river Jordan and the Mediterranean.

The good news for the Palestinians was that the talks, in the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Taba, began on schedule.

The bad news was that Israel had put off once again the last stage of the "Oslo II" interim agreement, the evacuation of all but a contentious enclave of the

West Bank holy city of Hebron, until after the 29 May elections.

Hebron is the only major Palestinian population centre which is still under Israeli occupation. The Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, reiterated at the weekend that Israeli troops would redeploy from areas inhabited by up to 150,000 Hebron Arabs, although they would remain in the centre of Hebron to protect the Taba resort.

Israel's chief peace negotiator, Iri Savir, celebrated yesterday's meeting as "the light at the end of the tunnel of a 100-year conflict."

The opening of final-status negotiations, he added, was a victory for the Oslo process, which had "met the challenges, the opposition, and the violence that tried to kill it."

## NEGOTIATING THE PEACE

The two teams have allowed themselves three years to reach agreement on the most difficult issues, which they deliberately left till last: Jerusalem, which both nations claim as their capital; the 3 million Palestinian refugees; Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; the border between Israel and Palestine; security arrangements; and their eventual relationship. Both sides are starting from maximalist positions.

"If talks are conducted in-

teriously," the chief Palestinian negotiator, Mahmoud Abbas,

predicted, "we hope to finish in two years or less, but because we are dealing with tough issues, talks might go on for three years." Most observers will be surprised if they do not.

Another Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erakat, stressed that "the permanent solution is to establish an independent Palestinian state."

Mr Peres's Labour party accepts the prospect of a Palestinian state, but the Likud hopes to perpetuate autonomy as a permanent, not just the interim, status of the 2 million West Bank and Gaza Palestinians.

So far, neither Israeli con-

tender is ready to contemplate a division of sovereignty in Jerusalem. The Palestinians say they will settle for nothing less.

On refugees, the Palestinians are demanding a right of return to their native towns and villages for all those who were driven out in the 1948 war.

Israelis of all political complexions oppose any such repatriation, which they argue would turn Israel into a binational state. They would look more sympathetically at compensation, provided it was paid also to Jews forced to leave Arab countries at the same time.

The Palestinians want all 127 Jewish settlements removed. At best, they would let some of the 140,000 settlers stay if they took Palestinian nationality.

Israel hopes to redraw the old "green-line" borders, so that

many of the settlements around Jerusalem and in the foothills of Samaria (the northern part of the West Bank) would be annexed to Israel. The Israelis also insist on retaining a security presence in the Jordan valley.

"We know there is a big gap between the sides," acknowledged Saeb Erakat. On that point, at least, all the Israelis and Palestinians can agree.

Letters, page 14

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How 'The Independent' – the UN reaction on the day of the Israeli shelling of Qana

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## MASSACRE AT QANA

## how 100 innocent people were killed



4 Fire in the UN conference hall (centre) rages as 40 civilians are being burned alive inside. The sound of the drone can still be heard

5 A UN paramedic holds a drip bag over a wounded Lebanese refugee being loaded into an ambulance

6 A UN pilot, his helicopter full of wounded civilians, orders an injured Lebanese and two wounded children to move away

## Israel blames map errors

ERIC SILVER

Tel Aviv  
The Israeli army last night blamed faulty map-making for the massacre but categorically denied United Nations charges that it had deliberately targeted civilians.

The deputy chief of staff, Major General Matan Vilnai, said that because of a cartographical error long before the event, "the camp was about 150 metres from where we thought it was – that was why the artillery hit the camp".

He insisted that the Israeli army did not know there were civilian refugees in the camp. "We knew generally that civilians were using UN camps as shelters. We had photographed Qana camp two days earlier from the air. There was no sign of civilians. We never knew that a huge number of civilians were in the camp."

An actual photograph shown to reporters confirmed this account. Only two or three figures could be seen walking between the corrugated iron roofs.

Major Gen Vilnai confirmed that an Israeli drone was flying over the vicinity, but claimed it was on another mission and was not sending back television pictures of the Qana camp. It

returned two hours after the shelling, he explained, and then it did relay shots of the damage.

The major general reiterated that it was not Israeli policy to shell UN camps. If they had meant to shell it, he said, the damage would have been much more devastating. Only a few of the 60 shells Israel now admits firing in the area "accidentally" hit the camp.

According to the findings of an Israeli investigation, the shelling began as a rescue mission when a commando unit seeking out Katyusha rocket-launching sites came under mortar fire in open ground.

"The mortars began falling 100 metres from the force, then 30 or 40 metres with shrapnel falling right beside our soldiers," General Vilnai said. "We acted in a matter of minutes to extricate the unit. In that time we had to understand what was going on, to relay orders and to stop the enemy fire."

He expressed the army's regret for the loss of life, but blamed Hezbollah for cynically exploiting civilians as an umbrella for firing at Israeli civilian and military targets.

**Damning report on Qana may be 'watered down'**

DAVID USBORNE

New York

The UN report on the Qana incident is so damning – for both Israel and for the UN – that its findings may be diluted or rewritten completely before it sees the light of day, diplomats said yesterday.

Boutros-Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, is due to give an oral briefing to the UN Security Council in New York this afternoon on the main conclusions of the report that was compiled on his request by his senior military advisor, General Frank Van Kappelen of the Netherlands.

It is unclear, however, whether Mr Boutros-Ghali will choose to distribute the current draft of the Van Kappelen report, some details of which were leaked to reporters last week. Without any written text, the Security Council will not be able to take action in response.

The pressures on Mr Boutros-Ghali to withhold at least the first Van Kappelen draft are manifold. The US government has voiced its scepticism about the findings of the general, who was dispatched to Lebanon in the aftermath of the 14 April attack. The US mission in New York reportedly has also warned that it does not want the report published.

Equally, however, the report contains highly damaging information about the UN itself and about the conduct of the peace-keepers in southern Lebanon. The facility that was struck in the attack was the Headquarters of a Fijian battalion that makes up a part of UNIFIL, the buffer force that has been deployed by the UN in southern Lebanon since 1978. The camp was crammed with civilians at the time.

Notably, General Van Kappelen reveals that Hezbollah guerrillas, who had been firing

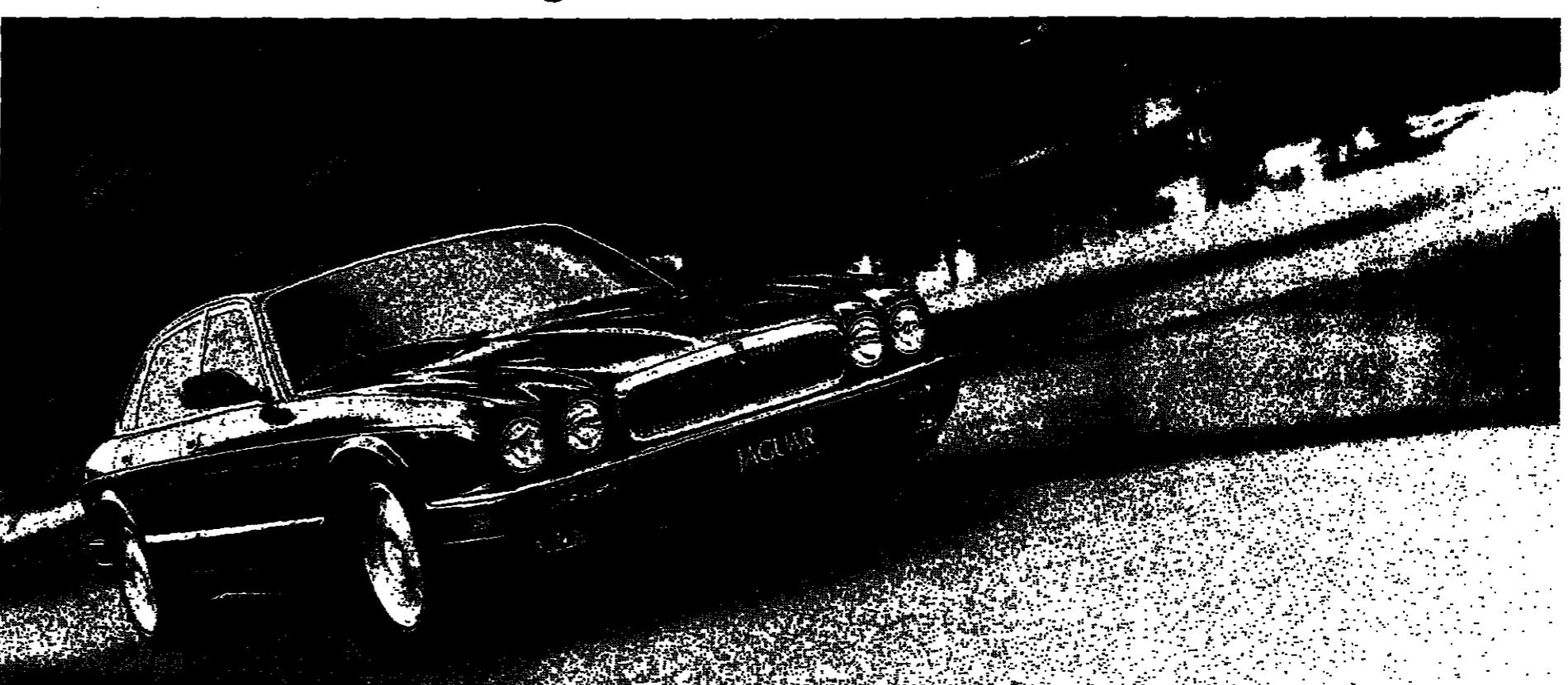
rockets into Israeli territory from placements nearby, had been in the habit of running into the UN encampment in order to hide from Israeli fire. Though the Fijians had previously made some efforts to block access to the guerrillas, they had apparently all but given up by the time of the Israeli attack.

"The UN loses big in this report, because it has been shown to have harboured terrorists," one source close to the council said yesterday. He added: "I think it is probable that the report will be watered down before we ever see it. Alternatively, it might say that there is still inadequate evidence to be able to say for certain whether the camp was targeted by the Israelis or not".

Israel will also have an opportunity to try to influence the report's fate. Officials from the Israeli mission in New York have been given until midday today to offer fresh evidence to contradict the General Van Kappelen's conclusions.

Part of the plot also is the widely assumed desire of Mr Boutros-Ghali to be elected to a second term as Secretary-General at the end of this year. His chances will be virtually eliminated if he cannot win the support of Washington and publishing Van Kappelen's report may not help him in that cause.

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# Yeltsin ally wants election postponed

PHIL REEVES  
Moscow

One of Boris Yeltsin's closest advisers last night warned that Russia could be plunged into violence unless it postpones the forthcoming presidential election, reinforcing speculation that the Kremlin is manoeuvring to call off the contest for fear the President will be thrown out.

Alexander Korzhakov, head of the presidential security service, one of the most powerful men in Mr Yeltsin's inner

circle, said no time was needed to allow people to "think calmly", warning that there were "entire regions" in Russia where the "civilised expression of people's will" is impossible. The first round of the election is scheduled for 16 June.

Although he said his remarks were personal, they will be seen as reflecting a broader view in the Kremlin that the elections cannot go ahead because of the risk Mr Yeltsin may lose to the Communist front-runner, Gennady Zyuganov.

"It is inadmissible that Russians again fight Russians," General Korzhakov told the Russian agency, Interfax. "The society is splitting ... the division of souls is dangerous." He urged executives, parliamentary officials and leaders of political parties to take heed.

His remarks follow speculation that the elections may be called off. Just over a week ago, 13 prominent industrialists and bankers published a letter in Russian newspapers calling for the leading political rivals to

reach a compromise before a conflict erupted. Mr Zyuganov yesterday told *Pravda* that Mr Yeltsin's entourage was ready to deny the population their right to vote, but that "people will not put up with this".

There is no doubt many in the Yeltsin administration fear defeat, as they would lose jobs and face prosecution for illegally casting in on the privatisation process. But postponing the election without the agreement of the Communists would be a huge risk.

Much of the Russian military is already demoralised and disillusioned by the President's handling of the Chechen war. While the 25,000 presidential guards under Mr Korzhakov's command may defend the Kremlin in the event of unrest, the loyalty of the military is not a foregone conclusion.

General Korzhakov's remarks may have been intended to bolster rumours that the Communists are privately willing to do a deal with the Kremlin in return for policy changes

and key posts. On the face of it, the scenario seems unlikely.

The Communists stand a good chance of winning outright. They know hostility to Mr Yeltsin in the regions is huge, and that he lags in the polls. Yet they also know the President controls much of the media, which is showing bias in its coverage, and is pouring money into deprived areas to win votes.

In spite of General Korzhakov's wishes, the odds are

that the vote will go ahead, as Mr Yeltsin has promised, with a first round in June and a final round in July. A more compelling issue is what will Mr Yeltsin do if the result goes against him. If he loses by a small margin, he would have little difficulty massaging the vote.

It is widely accepted that his administration cooked the vote in the 1993 referendum on the constitution. But a large deficit would be difficult to fix. What would then happen is anybody's guess.

Chirac's party fails to boost morale

MARY DEJESKY  
Paris

Activists of France's Gaullist RPR party turned out in force yesterday to mark the first anniversary of Jacques Chirac's election victory and hear the Prime Minister and party president, Alain Juppé, promise a five-year reform of public spending and taxation for the autumn.

But the mood at the one-day national convention in Paris was very far from the euphoria of a year ago and all the professionalism of the Gaullist party machine was unable to disguise strong undercurrents of anxiety and personal rivalry.

Party officials had hoped that the convention would seal the "reconciliation" of the party rank and file with Mr Juppé, who succeeded Mr Chirac as party leader last autumn. Mr Juppé, who has worked hard in recent months to project a more popular and sympathetic image, in which social projects and babies have loomed large, none the less found himself upstaged yesterday by two of the party's genuine populists, Charles Pascual, the former interior minister, and Philippe Séguin, chairman of the National Assembly.

Promotional films on the party's record, which punctuated stage-managed "policy debates", operated embarrassingly like popularity contests. The 4,500 delegates applauded their favourites and left telling silences whenever Mr Juppé and certain members of his government appeared. His own address, which closed the convention, relied for appeal largely on references to Mr Pascual and Mr Chirac who, eschewing party politics since his election as President, stayed away.

The purpose of the convention was to chart a course for the 1998 parliamentary elections and announce a major recruitment drive to boost the party's position. At present, the centre-right coalition formed by the Gaullists and the UDF grouping, holds three-quarters of parliamentary seats, won in the 1993 landslide.

The problem for the Gaullists is not only the impossibility of replicating the 1993 results, but the difficulty of combating a threat that now issues from many different quarters at once. One of these is the record of Mr Juppé's government, which may be why he attenuated his statements of last week about slashing public spending over the coming year, with a promise to couple that with a plan to "relieve the pressure of taxation".

Another comprises the external risks from left and right. The risk from the right comes from the far right. At present, the National Front is not represented in parliament. If, however, it can repeat its presidential election showing of 15 per cent, it could hold a balance in a finely balanced parliament. This eventually terrifies the mainstream left and right.

But other risks to the centre-right majority are internal: from supporters of former prime minister Edouard Balladur and the recent election of the ambitious François Leotard as leader of the UDF — currently the junior partner in the coalition.

But Mr Juppé yesterday and the RPR general secretary, Jean-François Mancel, made a point of exhorting Gaullists to stick with the coalition, as though this was in doubt. The Gaullists were told in no uncertain terms that unless they remained the coalition, the chances of remaining in government beyond 1998 were nil.



War image: Final touches being put to a sculpture of the victims of the Holocaust by Georgian artist Zurab Tsereteli at Poklonnaya Hill, Moscow. Photograph: Michael Eystein

## Hungary's first queen meets her match after 1000 years

ADRIAN BRIDGE  
Budapest

More than nine centuries after death parted them, Hungary's first king and queen were reunited in body as well as soul this weekend in an extraordinary ceremony which commemorated their 1000th wedding anniversary.

It was a macabre reunion. After so long apart, the preserved remains of King Istvan's right hand were finally brought back together with a bone taken from the arm of his wife, Queen Gisela.

Thousands watched as the royal remains, safely protected in glass-and-gold cases, went on display outside the basilica in the western town of Veszprem, where Queen Gisela once lived.

His wife's arm bone had a longer journey from her tomb in Passau, Bavaria, where she was born and later buried.

German bishops joined their Hungarian counterparts in conducting an open-air Mass in Veszprem on Saturday.

"Hungarians have never forgotten their first queen," the Bishop of Passau, Franz Xaver Eder, told the crowd of 20,000, which included Otto von Habsburg, the son of the last Habsburg emperor and King of Hungary, Karl I.

"The bone of the arm that Gisela gave to Istvan, which carried their children and blessed the people of Veszprem, has returned home. This blessing will now remain with the town forever."

Bishop Eder agreed to the transportation of the bone after an appeal earlier this year from the bishop of Veszprem, who had asked for a part of Gisela to be present at the 1000th anniversary.

The wedding of Istvan and Gisela on 4 May 996 marked a turning point in Hungary's history. As the sister of the Duke of Bavaria, Gisela's union with Istvan crystallised the alliance

between Hungary and the German empire. It also marked Hungary's conversion to Catholicism, which was acknowledged by Pope Sylvester II four years later when he crowned Istvan as the first Christian King of Hungary and agreed to his subsequent canonisation. As László Diósz, the mayor of Veszprem, said: "Hungary was founded by Istvan and Gisela. From a pagan tribe that had settled in the Carpathian basin, they formed a European nation."

Not all legends show Istvan in a saintly light. To make sure he would not be succeeded by his brother, Istvan is said to have poured molten lead into his ears, thereby killing him. And one version of the story says the method of killing was devised by Queen Gisela.

Now Brandenburgers had a chance to repay the debt. Shunning their leaders' advice, grassroots organisations sprung up with the slogan: "Things are bad enough without Berlin, they will be worse with Berlin".

Unemployment, at 16.4 per cent, is among the highest in Germany, and despite large injections of capital, Brandenburg's infrastructure is among the least developed.

The referendum also confirmed the ever-growing influence of the Party of Democratic Socialism, the East German post-Communists.

Capturing, once again, the public mood better than the "Wessi" dominated parties, the PDS produced the winning campaign slogan: "One unionisation is enough."

Antonio Di Pietro: To lead the Public Works Ministry

would remain independent as a "democrat external to the government".

The decision was an important boost to Mr Prodi's government-forming efforts, because Mr Di Pietro has been considered a major political prize whom both left and right have tried to capture. He is regularly voted the country's most popular public figure, and one poll suggested he would have won the recent general elections, had he run for office.

Members of the centre-right opposition barely concealed their disappointment yester-

day, accusing Mr Di Pietro of making an unprincipled choice based on thirds for power.

The former magistrate is particularly well-suited to the Public Works Ministry because it will give him the chance to attack the main source of political corruption in Italy — the handling of public contracts. When Mr Di Pietro challenged the system of contract "kickbacks" four years ago, from the Milan prosecutor's office, he brought down

Mr Di Pietro resigned from the magistrature at the end of 1994, in somewhat mysterious

circumstances, and has since struggled to find a role. He conducted negotiations with leaders of all the main political parties but stayed out of the recent election campaign because of a series of judicial smears that he has only just shaken off.

A conservative by instinct, it appears he was tempted for a long time to join the centre-right coalition headed by the former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, either as an ally or as an alternative leader. But Mr Berlusconi himself proved too big an obstacle, since one of Mr Di Pietro's last judicial investi-

gations was into the media magnate's business empire, and the two men are irreconcilably at odds.

Negotiations with Mr Prodi were equally unpromising at first, because Mr Di Pietro wanted a big ministry — Interior or Justice. The Public Works Ministry — apparently first suggested by Mr Prodi's nice, emerged as a useful compromise. It is not a particularly sensitive position politically, and it will allow Mr Di Pietro to do what he does best, with an authority that few other public figures could ever hope to match.

Free person with every policy.

Bhopal after fire chemical

Chirac's  
Party  
fails to  
boost  
morale

## 'Bhopal' fears after fire at SA chemical plant

REBECCA DODD  
Macassar, South Africa

Environmental campaigners are warning of a "South African Bhopal" in the wake of a fire at a chemical plant near Cape Town last December. Community activists claim that the company responsible - a subsidiary of Anglo American Corporation - is refusing to pay fair compensation to the victims of the disaster.

A stockpile of 14,000 tons of sulphur caught fire at AECI's Somerset West Factory on 16 December last year when a veldt-fire swept across the plant. The sulphur burned for 20 hours and the resulting sulphur dioxide cloud quickly reached Macassar, two miles away. Two people, both asthma sufferers, died. Between 2,500 and 3,500 people were evacuated four hours after the blaze began, but over the next few days thousands of Macassar's 30,000 population received treatment for respiratory problems.

The cloud of toxic gas was so thick that managers of Cape Town airport, 22km away, considered closing it down, and vineyards 15-20km away were damaged. Many people mistook the smoke for tear gas. One woman interviewed shortly after said: "I coughed until my chest hurt. I ran to the tap to wash my face but the smell was

too strong to be tear gas."

According to the South African Environmental Justice Networking Forum, compensation payments from AECI have so far been "completely arbitrary and unfair". The group says claims assessors are offering most people between R250 and R500 (£40-83) in payments.

"There is no independent attempt to put a price on things.

They are just offering people money, and because of the poverty and the need for immediate cash, people are taking it... People are getting totally different pay-outs for the same damage," said a forum spokesman.

AECI says the average payout is R700 (£113) and that so far 4,500 out of an expected 8,000 claims have been settled. These claims are mostly for damage to gardens, curtains and carpets - which became saturated in the smoke - and for goods stolen during the evacuation. AECI says the claims were not arbitrary and that different pay-outs reflected varying degrees of damage and loss. "It is very difficult to generalise when you are dealing with 8,000 claims but there is a pattern."

Without taking longer term health costs into account, AECI's insurers expect to pay out R25m (£4m) in immediate damage claims.

## Elections in doubt as police and Zulus clash

MARIUS BOSCH  
Reuters

Johannesburg - A new flare-up of violence in South Africa's troubled Zulu heartland at the weekend could force the government to send extra soldiers and police to the region just two weeks ahead of scheduled elections.

At least one person was killed and eight were wounded, including three policemen, in clashes between police and Zulu protesters in Durban in KwaZulu-Natal province on Saturday.

President Nelson Mandela expressed his "extreme concern" at the incident and said if the situation worsened, extra security forces could be sent to the province.

The violence came as negotiators were staging a last-ditch attempt to break a deadlock which could stall implementation of the country's final post-apartheid constitution.

President spokesman, Joel Netshitenzhe, and the President have expressed extreme concern about what happened in Durban yesterday. The situation is being reviewed on a continental basis and if it worsens, security forces will be sent to KwaZulu-Natal.

The cabinet has to decide whether local elections on 29 May, already delayed twice, should go ahead or be postponed again. The African National Congress says alleged voter registration fraud and political killings and intimidation mean a fair election is impossible.

The ANC's main rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, says the ANC is just scared of losing the election in KwaZulu-Natal, where more than 14,000 people have been killed since the mid-1980s in a bloody turf war between the two parties.

Police said the province was

calm but tense yesterday. "The signs are there for conflict. Since the electioneering started there has been tension," provincial police spokesman Bala Naidoo said.

Mr Buthelezi, who is also interior minister in Mr Mandela's coalition cabinet, said the elections must go ahead. "I make this appeal to the President: for the sake of democracy let the 29 May elections go ahead as planned," he told supporters at an election rally.

The Zulu leader, whose party has boycotted the constitution-writing process since last year over demands for international mediation, launched an attack on the draft constitution. "Let no-one be in any doubt that this new constitution is the gravest threat to our liberty in existence."

"This new constitution is nothing less than a recipe for a one-party state," Mr Buthelezi said.

Police said the province was

drink. Pirms and celebrate in the Banja Luka headquarters of Nato's British forces.

Major-General Michael Jackson had moved his sector HQ from the ruins of Gornji Vakuf, an early casualty of the Muslim-Croat war and a one-horse town at the best of times, to the northern city of Banja Luka.

This city was once described

by the UN as "the heart of darkness," on account of the local enthusiasm with which local Serbs pursued a policy of "ethnic cleansing". Ironically, it is now seen as the seat of moderate Serbs who have a constructive interest in implementing the Dayton peace plan.

General Jackson lists his practical reasons for the move

to Banja Luka. It is the only big city in his sector; it allows Nato's implementation force (I-For) to deploy one of its four headquarters in the Srpska Republic; many civilian agencies with which I-For liaises are based in the city; there is an airport.

"From now on I shall be putting a fair amount of Deutschemarks into the local economy," the general said.

The High Representative, Carl Bildt, will open a regional office in Banja Luka today. He also has practical reasons.

But beyond those there is a political element: those implementing the Dayton plan have been hampered since December by the hard-line Bosnian Serb leadership, which is based

in the mountain village of Pale, near Sarajevo.

There has long been rivalry in the Serb camp between the big city of Banja Luka and the small town of Pale. With the eclipse of Radovan Karadzic, indicted for war crimes, and the loss of the Serb-held suburbs around Sarajevo, which was the justification for making a "capital" in Pale, Banja Luka's leaders seem victory.

Both the military and civilian authorities here welcome the arrival of General Jackson, despite the fury in Pale. The government has launched an investigation into who authorised the British move. General Jackson shrugs off the controversy. "It has been made

a political issue," he said. "If they choose to make it a political issue, that's up to them."

The cocktail party was more than a social occasion. "We were quite determined about what we were trying to do," General Jackson said.

"Normality is returning. You can have a drink together for a couple of hours." I-For helicopters ferried in Bosnian leaders from Sarajevo, including Haris Silajdzic, the former prime minister and now leader of a new opposition party. Canadian troops escorted General Dudakovic from his barracks in the city of Bihać.

"Of course I had to wear my green beret in Banja Luka," General Dudakovic gleefully

said. Muslim Bihać was subjected to a three-year siege by the Serbs based in Banja Luka.

"It's humiliating that none of our officers is here," one local Serb said crossly. According to sources in I-For and civilian agencies, the Pale leaders ordered General Tadic and his

comrades not to attend the party, even though general Dukakovic and Tadic meet frequently and cordially at military commissions chaired by I-For. As far as the locals are concerned, the deployment of the British in Banja Luka is a good thing. The soldiers have mended roads and other infrastructure, and the I-For base employs around 100 locals and pays them in hard currency.

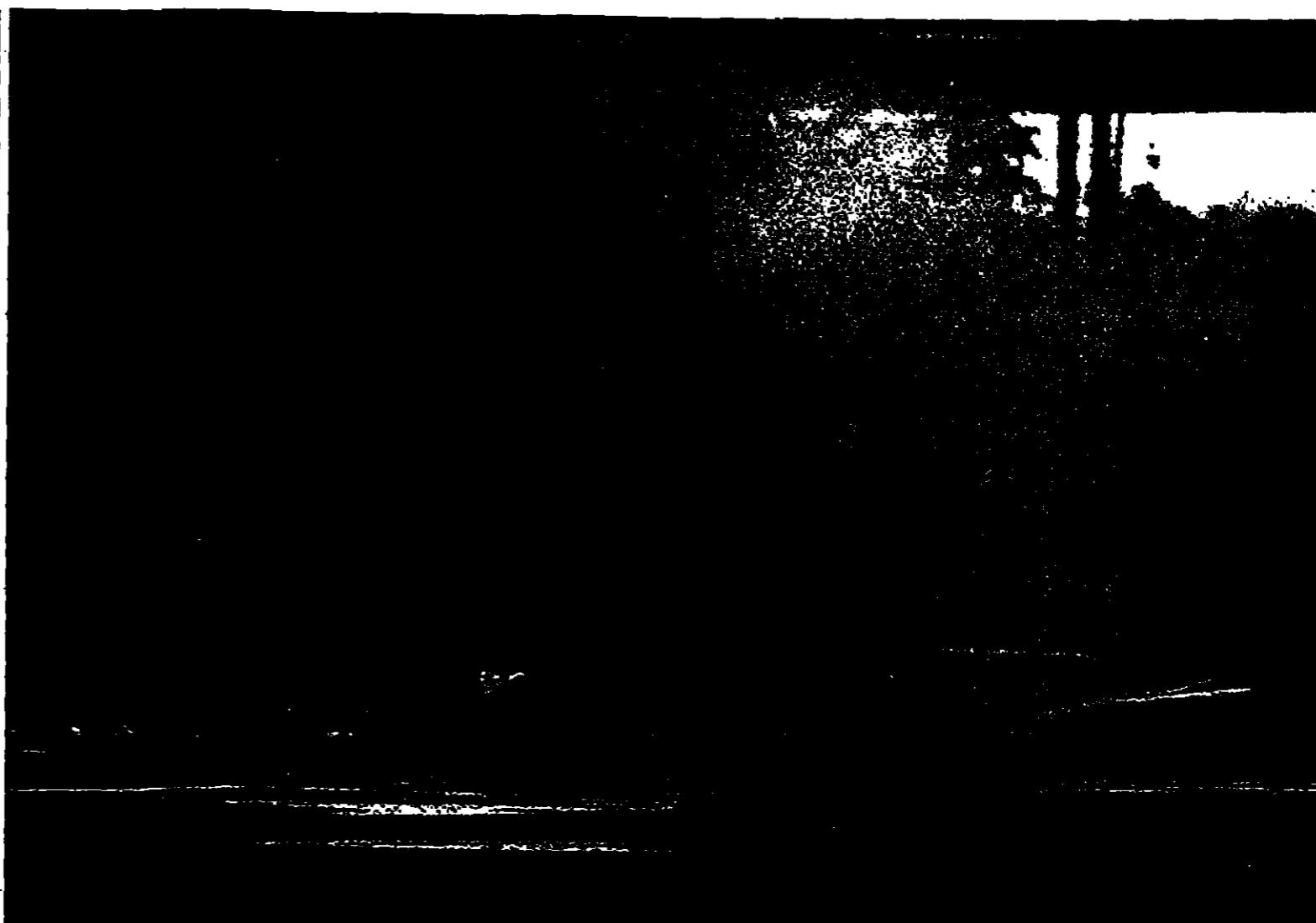
The presence of the British will encourage aid agencies and international organisations to spend money in the city, which was a no-go area to the UN and most foreigners in the war. The move will also hinder Pale's isolation policy.

It may also encourage visits to the city from Mr Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, who is also indicted for war crimes. The deployment will play a key role in Banja Luka. Only 28 Royal Military Police will patrol day and night. "We don't want Challenger tanks rolling down the High Street," General Jackson said. "We are not here as occupying army and if we are seen to be that, we will lose credibility."

"There is no official minimum wage in Cambodia. There are no trade unions and no right to bargain. Labour inspectors report they are often barred from entering factories." It said some employees make as little as \$10 (£6) a month.

"There are effectively no occupational health and safety standards, since the relevant articles under the old State of Cambodia law have no provisions for enforcement," the report said.

Women at one factory referred to the manager as "Pole Pot," the report said, in reference to the leader of the 1975-79 Khmer Rouge regime, blamed for the deaths of about 1 million Cambodians.



Street fighting man: A jubilant NPFL soldier runs from the explosion he has just set off at the Barclay Training Centre in Monrovia. Photograph: AP

## Liberians flee as capital blazes

DAVID GUTTENFELDER  
Associated Press

Monrovia - About 2,500 Liberian refugees stood on the deck of a Nigerian freighter yesterday, singing their national hymn and waving farewell to Monrovia as the ship inched away from the burning capital.

Clouds of dark smoke covered the city as street fighting raged on and young fighters set dozens of homes and buildings on fire. Rocket-propelled grenades slammed into the besieged Barclay military barracks, the flash point of the month of bloodshed that has ruined the capital.

At the Free Port of Monrovia,

hundreds of Liberians tried to climb up the sides of the Nigerian freighter *Bulk Challenger* as it left the port. Fighting broke out among those who had paid \$50 for the five-day trip to Ghana but were left behind even after their luggage went out to sea.

"It was unbelievable - anodus. It was pathetic," said Peter Sebok, the Dutch owner of West Coast Fisheries, whose offices are at the port.

The Liberians who made it on board sadly sang "Lone Star Forever," the national hymn.

Not far from the port the two main bridges into the capital, which run parallel across the

Mesurado River, were each being held by rival enemy camps, making it difficult for people to move in and out of the city centre.

Government official and rebel leader, Charles Taylor, had vowed the battle for the military barracks held by his enemies would end in victory for his troops by the weekend. But

members of the Ulmo-J faction who support his arch-rival, Roosevelt Johnson, fought fiercely as Mr Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) resumed shelling the Barclay Training Centre.

The clashes shattered hopes that Mr Johnson's evacuation

assault rifle above his head in a victory cheer.

Ecomog, the African peace-keeping force, had pulled back. The peace-keeping force entered the fighting earlier yesterday, shooting dead two NPFL militiamen who tried to prevent them from crossing one of the bridges.

The killings infuriated Mr Taylor. In radio contact with his commanders at the scene, the NPFL leader said: "Ecomog authorities will have to address themselves to the shooting incident because this is not the first time peace-keeping troops have behaved like this toward my men."

## Poll boosts Congress victory hopes

ARINDAM NAG  
Reuters

New Delhi - India's Prime Minister, PV Narasimha Rao, received a welcome boost yesterday when a late poll said his Congress Party would have a slight lead in a hung parliament after a third phase of general elections this week.

The latest poll in the *Times of India* and *The Economic Times* forecast 169 out of 543 seats for the Congress Party, ahead of 165 for the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The Socialist combination of the National Front and the

Left Front is expected to win 145 seats in what now appears to be a cliff-hanger leading to a hung parliament.

"It's interesting to see opinion polls in the media finally supporting us," a senior Congress leader and industry minister, K Karunakaran, said.

Various opinion polls published before the elections showed the BJP emerging as the single largest party, although still short of a majority.

Voting took place in about 150 seats on 27 April, and 200 more on 2 May. The next phase is set for 7 May. All but six seats should be known by 11 May. Repeat polling was being

held yesterday in 511 polling stations where the voting was marred by violence.

The *Times* poll combined a fresh round of surveying with findings of a previous opinion poll, which had predicted 142 seats for the Congress and 189 for the BJP. It came amidst a growing controversy surrounding Mr Rao's leadership of the party which has ruled India for all but four years since independence.

In a newspaper interview on Saturday, Mr Karunakaran said the Congress Party, recently hit by a spate of defections, would recover its old strength if Mr Rao quit its leadership.

## Workers 'abused' in Cambodia

Phnom Penh (Reuters) - Cambodia's fast-growing garment industry is plagued by poor working conditions, abuse of workers and low pay, a report by an independent non-governmental organisation said.

The organisation said the report was prepared after two months spent studying 13 garment factories and interviewing workers.

Female workers in many of the factories alleged beatings were frequent and managers cheated on salaries, which are paid on a piece rate. "New managers state explicitly that they prefer to hire inexperienced, young girls from the provinces because they are easier to control," the report said.

"There is no official minimum wage in Cambodia. There are no trade unions and no right to bargain. Labour inspectors report they are often barred from entering factories." It said some employees make as little as \$10 (£6) a month.

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## British general gets old foes together in Bosnia

EMMA DAILY  
Banja Luka

As cocktails parties go it was unusual. The emerald-green beret worn by Atif Dudakovic of the Bosnian army Fifth Corps was seen amid a crowd gathered at a metal factory in the heartland of his enemies, the city of Banja Luka.

Sadly, his opposite number, the Bosnian Serb general, Momir Tadic, sent his regrets. But the gathering, rounded off with a parachute display by the Red Devils, was otherwise a roaring success.

The deputy mayor of Banja Luka, local politicians and even a couple from the ruling Serbian Democratic Party, turned up to

drink. Pirms and celebrate in the Banja Luka headquarters of Nato's British forces.

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"Of course I had to wear my green beret in Banja Luka," General Dudakovic gleefully

said. Muslim Biha

**Asylum bid:** Togo woman's appeal for sanctuary from painful tribal custom divides judiciary

# Genital mutilation case tests US courts

JOHN CARLIN  
Washington

Fauziya Kasinga found the prospect of genital mutilation understandably appalling. But when she fled her native Togo for America, in the hope of obtaining asylum, she had not reckoned on the less than tender mercies of the United States immigration service.

Ms Kasinga, a well-educated young woman from a well-off Togolese family, was sold by her aunt in marriage in August 1994 to a thrice-married man three times her age. She was 17.

The marriage took place but, according to local Muslim custom, consummation would wait 40 days, the period deemed necessary for her genital scars to heal.

The surgery, usually carried out without anaesthesia by a tribal elder, was due to take place two days after the marriage ceremony. But just in time Ms Kasinga's eldest sister spirited her out of Togo to Ghana. She flew to Düsseldorf, where she says she found employment for two months at the home of a woman she met at the airport. On 17 December 1994 she arrived at New York's Newark airport, having been informed by a Nigerian friend in

Germany that although she lacked the necessary papers, the authorities would look kindly on her plight.

She had been led to believe the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) would be prepared, under the circumstances, to stretch the conventional definition of persecution to grant political asylum.

Instead she was whisked off to a detention centre in New Jersey and promptly strip-searched, the first of many occasions when she was obliged to submit to this indignity during her first year in the US.

She also says she was periodically held in chains, denied sanitary napkins and locked up in an isolation cell. Her claims appeared to be confirmed when an official investigation last summer found guards at the detention centre had been guilty of abusing prisoners.

From New Jersey she was transferred to a prison in York, Pennsylvania, before she appeared before an immigration judge in Philadelphia on 25 August last year. The judge, who was rude to the point of being abusive, according to lawyers present, said he found her story "not credible", declared female genital mutilation did not come under the definition



Out of Africa: Ms Kasinga arriving at the appeal board for a hearing on her asylum case

Photograph: AP

of persecution and denied her asylum request.

"I feel empty, mute," she said in an interview with the *New York Times* last month. "I keep asking myself, 'What did I do to deserve such punishment? What did I do?'"

Last week she made her final bid to avoid the fate she believes awaits her back home when she appeared before the Board of Immigration Appeals, the highest immigration tribunal in the US. Her lawyer, Karen Musalo, said the Philadelphia

judge's lack of familiarity with tribal customs in Togo had rendered him unfit to rule on the credibility of Ms Kasinga's story. According to Ms Musalo, a professor of law at George Washington University, her client was seeking to escape from the tyranny of a patriarchal society where she had no one to protect her.

INS lawyers said they wanted to send Ms Kasinga's case back to a lower court and, in general, wished the board to establish new guidelines where-

by in certain narrow circumstances, when it could be clearly determined that a woman would be subjected to the knife if forced to return home, female genital mutilation might warrant granting asylum.

Ms Musalo, on the other hand, heads a team of human rights lawyers seeking to make it legal for all women who fear mutilation, or have already been mutilated, to obtain asylum in the US. Two dozen African countries employ the custom, which involves the

removal of the clitoris to minimise sexual sensation. About 100 million women have been its victims, according to the World Health Organisation.

The 12 members of the immigration appeal board are expected to submit a written ruling during the summer.

Should Ms Kasinga's appeal fail, all may not be lost. She could try crossing the border to Canada, the only country where the prospect of female genital mutilation is considered legitimate grounds for asylum.

## Woman warrior takes on Mugabe's corrupt clique

If credibility is the driving force in a successful political career, Margaret Dongo will travel far. While only in her 30s, she is one of the few politicians who has established her credentials in the blood, sweat and tears of the past and also laid a claim to the (hopefully peaceful) future.

Zimbabwe is still close enough to its guerrilla struggle of the 1970s for a glittering war record to boost political advancement, and Ms Dongo's claim is strong. She left school at the age of 15 and walked several hundred miles into neighbouring Mozambique to sign up as a freedom fighter.

"There were times when we went without food and up to 50 people could die," she recalls. "You could walk for days without food."

Ms Dongo's *nom de guerre* during the war, Tichaoua Muhondo, means "We will sort it out on the battlefield."

But soon after independence, she educated herself and became a highly regarded administrator, rising rapidly in the ranks of the party which Robert Mugabe insisted would rule Zimbabwe for ever. It was with Zanu PF's firm backing that she became one of the handful of women who became members of parliament in 1990.

However, while independent Zimbabwe has paid lip service to the sacrifices of those who fought for that independence, practical help has been less forthcoming.

Mr Mugabe himself endured

### LOCAL HEROES : 15

Margaret Dongo

tion worsened for the ex-combatants after independence. Few were lucky and many remained bitter.

Ms Dongo first achieved national prominence when, as a founding member of the War Veterans' Association, she pledged her support to the ex-combatants and battled hard for compensation for the many who came back destitute.

Mr Mugabe himself endured

10 years in jail under Ian Smith. But in power, he has been accused of trying to hijack the con-

cept of heroism for his own ends. Ms Dongo's first-hand experience of the struggle for independence remains for her a yardstick by which to measure the hypocrisy of the leadership. If Ms Dongo has old-fashioned credibility, she has also established her credentials for the new era that many Zimbabweans hope for, in which those who have governed the country for personal gain will be finally removed. She has an impressive record of opposition to this class.

Her outspokenness after her election as a Zanu PF MP resulted in her fall from grace, and Zanu PF's aged heavyweights opposed her attempt to stand as the party's candidate in last year's parliamentary elections. With the support of her

constituents she decided to go it alone and stood as an independent.

Despite a large and loyal following she lost to a Zanu PF-backed candidate. Confident of the strength of her support, she decided to try to expose the irregularities and rigging of the electoral system.

She became the first person

to challenge the validity of election results in the High Court and in a landmark decision, the vote was annulled. After a new vote last year she emerged victorious against the party of which she was once a stalwart.

Her record of protecting the rights of women, children and the poor helped her secure a place as the first woman in Zimbabwe's history to win a parliamentary seat as an independent.

She urges her constituency members to become self-sufficient and has helped set up cottage industries including soap-making, tailoring, tie-dying and wax-making. Among her plans for Sunningdale, where she lives, are to build a secondary school and day-care centres, donor-funded adult literacy classes and expand existing co-operatives.

Her preoccupations may seem small beer. But they address her constituents' real needs, and if she continues to listen to ordinary people and act on their behalf, she will be well placed to step in when the discredited old guard finally loses its grip on power.

Reyhana Masters-Smith

Madrid — Jose Maria Aznar took the oath of office before King Juan Carlos to become the Prime Minister of Spain's first conservative government in 13 years. In a brief ceremony at the Zarzuela Palace near Madrid, Mr Aznar swore loyalty to the King and the constitution, before he and his wife, Ana, (above) departed for their new official residence. At the royal palace, the outgoing prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, congratulated Mr Aznar with a handshake and a grin.

**Gondoliers no longer going for a song**  
Venice — Venice's gondoliers stopped serenading their customers as they steered them through the city's romantic canals because of a dispute over pensions. Fulvio Scarpa, president of the Gondoliers' Association, said his 60-odd members had been asked to contribute to a state pension fund for entertainers because their singing makes them freelance musicians. "We've decided to suspend serenades until our accountants can meet representatives of the entertainers' pension fund to find a solution," he said.

Reyhana Masters-Smith

# This week in

# THE INDEPENDENT

This week and every week, Section Two has a new look, with more pages, new features, a daily radio column and an expanded listings section providing Britain's most comprehensive daily guide to going out.



### on Monday

A new regular section, *Family Life*, that deals with the interests and problems of parents and children. Julie Myerson's column also focuses on *home life*. *Plus*: a new series — *Do we need?* — which challenges the icons of modern Britain.

And, every Monday, impartial coverage of the expanding world of information technology in our Network pull-out section.

### on Tuesday

How well are you? The first in a three-part series which examines healthy living in Britain in the

Nineties. Also on Tuesday: fashion, architecture, visual arts and media.

### on Wednesday

Bridget Jones's diary continues to chronicle the encounters and exquisite embarrassments in the life of Britain's most-read spinster. *Plus*: the midweek travel section, your money, finance

and law. In our back pages, Martin Newell, Britain's leading rock poet, and Neil Herber, one of the country's funniest cartoonists, present their views of the modern world.

### on Thursday

All our regular features, including Virginia Ironside's *Dilemmas*, John Walsh's column, plus film, education

and graduate plus. In the back pages, William Houston's history of the world in 10½ inches

### on Friday

24Seven — a new 20-page pull-out and keep entertainment and listings section, including a complete day-by-day planner for the week ahead, plus

seven-day TV, radio and satellite listings, ticket offers and informed comment on the week's highlights. *Plus*: eight pages of pop and classical music

### IN BRIEF

#### Corsicans promise to carry on fighting

Ajaccio — A new splinter-group of Corsican separatists said they would fight on for greater autonomy from France despite an offer by their rivals to disband. About 100 hooded but unarmed separatists told a secret news conference they intended to break away from the "traditional wing" of the outlawed Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC). At an earlier secret news conference about 20 hooded and heavily-armed separatists from the FLNC's traditional wing said they would end their struggle if the government agreed to autonomy, recognition of the Corsican people, the elimination of the island's national government council and the teaching of the Corsican language in schools. *Reuters*

#### Hutus killed in Burundi army operation

Buhoro — Burundi's Tutsi-dominated army killed 235 Hutus, mostly women and children, in an operation in central Burundi late last month, humanitarian sources in the area said. They said the army killed the people in Buhoro, a mountainous area, after Hutu rebels killed civilians there. *Reuters*

#### Terrorists blamed for fires in Bahrain

Manama — Buildings and shops were set ablaze in Bahrain's capital, Manama, in what an official said were "terrorist acts". Two buildings, a music shop and a boutique were badly damaged in the central business district of Manama, and there were at least five fires in other areas. Bahraini officials have blamed previous arson attacks on Shi'ite Muslim protesters. *Reuters*

#### Crime rate drops for fourth year in US

Washington — The US crime rate fell for the fourth year as murders reported to the police dropped 8 per cent in 1995 from 23,500 in 1994, the FBI said. New York reported 1,170 murders in 1995, down from 1,561 in 1994. Los Angeles had five more killings in 1995 than in 1994. Homicides fell in Chicago to 824 from 928 and in Detroit to 473 from 541. *AP*

#### Japanese start to run short of children

Tokyo — The number of children hit a record low in Japan ever since the government began counting in 1920. As of 1 April, there were 19.87 million below the age of 15, a report said. The figure represents a drop of 320,000 children from last year. The report said children make up 15.8 percent of the population. *AP*

#### Aznar takes over as Spain's new PM



Madrid — Jose Maria Aznar took the oath of office before King Juan Carlos to become the Prime Minister of Spain's first conservative government in 13 years. In a brief ceremony at the Zarzuela Palace near Madrid, Mr Aznar swore loyalty to the King and the constitution, before he and his wife, Ana, (above) departed for their new official residence. At the royal palace, the outgoing prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, congratulated Mr Aznar with a handshake and a grin.

Reyhana Masters-Smith

how

# Your job can be safe again. Here's how

The ruling free-trade orthodoxy on the economy is wrong. The time has come for protectionism, argues Edward Luttwak

Pat Buchanan's season of success was brief, but respectable opinion in America and beyond is still shell-shocked by the appeal of his heretical economic ideas (protectionism to lift wages). For these days there is only one economic orthodoxy, taught by almost all academic economists, happily celebrated by Wall Street and corporate chiefs, and fully accepted by Democrats, by Republicans and by most European political parties.

The ruling orthodoxy holds that the US economy is a huge success, propelled by the "New Titans" of the information age: the legendary twins Microsoft and Intel, and their lesser emulators – Apple, Novell, Cisco, Oracle, BayNet, Sun Microsystems and many more. Most of them did not exist 20 years ago. Today, the combined value of their shares greatly exceeds that of the giants of old-style manufacturing: General Motors, Ford, Dupont and Kodak. In the course of rising to their present heights, the New Titans have made several billionaires and hundreds of millionaires among early investors, while very substantially increasing the wealth of a larger number of shareholders. That is a recipe for a great deal of optimism.

Every principle of the ruling orthodoxy is defended by citing the success of the New Titans. Free trade is justified by citing the success of American hi-tech exports in general and of software in particular. By contrast, the net loss of 1.4 million jobs (according to the very lowest estimate of free-trade enthusiasts) caused by the chronic excess of US imports over exports is held to be of small account, because these are said to be little more than dead-end jobs, in declining industries.

Deregulation, most recently of telecommunications, is similarly justified by the wonderful opportunities it opens up for the New Titans, as well as for the new-style "lean and mean" telephone and cable television companies that promise to open up the electronic highway. In the process, the existing regional telephone companies, "the Baby Bells", will be swept away unless they become drastically more efficient. True, the Secretary of Labour, Robert Reich, and other members of the Clinton administration have suddenly taken to criticising the mass firings by big corporations in general and by AT&T in particular (40,000 initially budgeted for, later reduced to 18,000). But at the same time, the Clinton administration enthusiastically advocated the Telecommunications Deregulation and Competition Act of 1995, which allows regional telephone companies, long-distance carriers (AT&T, MCI, Sprint and more) and cable television companies alike to offer local and long-distance television and other data over wires without restriction. The regional telephone companies will therefore have to do exactly what AT&T is doing, that is:

fire tens of thousands of employees to become more automated and more efficient. The Clinton administration is deplored by sentimental verbiage the consequences it is striving to bring about.

Above all, the success of the New Titans is invoked to argue that no real harm is being inflicted by corporate "downsizing" – the drastic reduction in the number of administrative and clerical employees mainly because of software-driven automation. According to the ruling orthodoxy, readily echoed by all and sundry in America and beyond, downsizing means that some Americans are being forced to move to better jobs – GM may fire you but Microsoft will hire you, and Microsoft jobs are better.

Yet it is enough to look at the employment rolls of the New Titans, as opposed to their share values, to see that Buchanan's pessimism is right and the ruling orthodoxy wrong. Microsoft and Intel had a combined total of 48,100 employees at the last count as opposed to 325,300 employed by Ford, more than half of them in the US. In fact all the New Titans listed above have a combined grand total of 128,000 employees, less than half the number employed by Ford alone worldwide, one third fewer than those employed by Ford in the US.

There are many other New Titans

in the computer and software industry who have also risen from nothing, including such diverse companies as Southwest Airlines, Nike Shoes, Charles Schwab the mega-broker, Genentech and other bio-tech companies, computer hardware manufacturers such as Seagate, Compaq and more. Still, all of them together do not employ as many Americans as Ford alone, let alone General Motors (721,000 at the last count, half in the US).

The consequences of these numbers are enormous. What would happen to the US if the vision of Bill Gates of Microsoft and vice-president Al Gore of all hi-tech economy were to be realised? The Dow Jones Index would no doubt reach 10,000, or perhaps 20,000, making more billionaires. In the meantime, the number of well-paid jobs in the US economy would decline to a fraction of present levels.

With companies such as GM and Kodak, that equation could not work, because entities that sell mass-consumption goods mostly in the domestic market cannot prosper if most of their prospective consumers are unemployed or employed in poorly paid service jobs. But the New Titans sell their products worldwide to the elites and can afford to ignore this basic axiom.

It follows that the highly-optimistic interpretation of downsizing is totally wrong: if GM fires you, Microsoft will not hire you. One, you are not trained and Microsoft has no use for uneducated blue-collar jobs spoilt by too much pay for yesterday's

year's assembly-line jobs. Two, if you are trained, Microsoft will not hire you either – mailing out pre-packed software is just not that labour-intensive.

Information technology, in other words, is not a job-creator but a job "sink": while it destroys clerical and, increasingly, administrative jobs by the million, it provides relatively few jobs of its own – and those mainly in the US. Elsewhere, in unfortunate lands with weak software industries, it merely destroys jobs.

It is above all engineers that such industry needs, and so yet between 1968 and 1995 the median annual salary of engineers with 10 years' experience declined 13 per cent in constant dollars to \$52,900. Evidence there is an over-supply. So much for the current nostrum of a hi-tech education for all to turn out more engineers would merely add to their over-supply.

It is true that jobs in retailing, health services and small businesses of the "dog-washing-in-your-own-home variety" keep increasing in the US, so much so that the official unemployment rate has been falling in spite of all the downsizing. But this is small consolation. As everyone knows, the average earnings of "non-supervisory" employees – 77.5 million out of 114 million employed Americans – have been declining for years (from \$8.40 per hour in 1978 to \$7.41 in 1994 in constant 1982 dollars) because so many Americans now work in poorly paid service jobs.

The secret of the American economy's much envied ability to create jobs is no mystery: it is easy enough to employ people when they are so cheap to hire, so easy to fire. It is not just the likes of Wal-Mart (434,000 employees), K-Mart (358,000), Sears

(403,000) and McDonald's (177,000) that pay very little as compared to General Motors or Dupont: banks, too, are lousy employers. The average earnings of the mass of ordinary, "non-supervisory" employees in the financial sector – some five million in 1995 – are below \$8 per hour, only slightly more than in 1970 (\$7.64) in constant dollars and much less than GM pays its assembly workers.

That is one of the results of "turbocharged capitalism", the combined effect of rapid technological change, the retreat of state controls and globalisation. By accelerating structural change in the economy,

forced to buy more expensive and/or inferior US-made goods instead of being able to choose from the world's most competitive output. American manufacturing employees would gain greatly because the production of those more expensive US goods behind tariff walls would do wonders for their wages by increasing demand for their labour. Of course, US exports would also be reduced, because even if other countries did not retaliate by raising trade barriers, their ability to buy US goods and services would decline.

By contrast, more prosperous Americans would lose at both ends: first because they consume imports disproportionately, and second, because they now have the lion's share of the benefits of globalisation. Buchanan's proposal to stop immigration was greatly ridiculed, but it would have raised the incomes of the poorest Americans. Ironically, the urban black underclass, a group most unlikely to vote for Buchanan, would have gained the most. If the hard-working Mexican and Central American immigrants, both legal and illegal, who now work as gardeners, maids, cleaners and manual labourers, were kept out, those jobs would once again be available for the least-skilled Americans. As of now, these particular Americans are simply unemployed, or else employed in the bottom rungs of the crime industry, at very great cost to the US, which is suffering a permanent deficit by unemployed and unemployable black youths.

When the Great Depression of the Thirties ravaged the lives of people in all parts of the world sufficiently developed to partake of the international economy, almost all



The road to unemployment: Ford employs more than twice as many people as the new hi-tech companies put together. Photograph: AP

People with jobs have no use for parties that want to tax away more of their uncertain incomes to help the unemployed

turbocharged capitalism rewards agility as much as competence, penalising ordinary working stiffs who cannot smartly jump to something better when their jobs are eliminated or downgraded by technically induced organisational change, imports or deregulation. When all must run fast if only to stay in place, a few will run much faster than that but most will fall behind.

The ruling orthodoxy no longer persuades in part because another bit of the orthodoxy calls for monetary stringency and high interest rates to slow growth as soon as it accelerates to prevent inflation. The US economy has grown a great deal since 1976, but the earnings of seven out of 10 Americans have declined.

Very, very slowly, thanks to the fit-

ful success of odd-ball candidates like Perot and Buchanan, the impossible is coming to pass: in a nation where market-worship is the true national religion, where the prime victims of turbocharged capitalism are even more anti-government than its leading beneficiaries, it is beginning to be sensed, however vaguely, that there are no remedies other than political remedies, for increasing income and wealth inequality.

We have not yet had a one-time only wealth-tax candidate in the US, even though the top 2 per cent of households have been the beneficiaries of more than 100 per cent

of the country's economic growth during the past quarter of a century, but we have had Buchanan. His presidential campaign came to stand for what is in effect state intervention against turbocharged capitalism, to his own surprise no doubt.

As against a Microsoft America, whose gross national product would be huge but whose well-paid employees would be very few, Buchanan's protectionist America would have a smaller gross national product but a far more prosperous base of clerical and industrial employees, the "middle class" of contemporary American discourse.

If imports were reduced by Buchanan's high tariffs, all Americans would suffer some loss as consumers, because they would be

bankers and academic economists were in agreement that the only remedy was to reduce government expenditure. We now know that the exact opposite was the case. In the absence of a new political economy of redistribution, if not re-regulation, able to confront today's turbocharged capitalism and specifically its impoverishment of 80 per cent of working middle classes, the US may yet end up with Buchananism, with or without Buchanan as its protagonist.

So far, mainstream Democrats and Republicans, like the established political parties of Western Europe, have completely failed to respond to the acute sense of personal economic insecurity that afflicts so many of their electors. Instead they promise more growth thanks to the magic of a yet more dynamic economy. While centre and centre-right parties in most countries now contradict themselves by preaching both unchaining "family values" and dynamic economic change, centre-left and leftist parties offer both more state-assisted and dynamic economic change. But what most people in the US, as in Europe, want is not the possibility of better jobs or higher incomes thanks to economic growth but security for the jobs and incomes they already have.

People who are employed and who are earning, perhaps very well, but who fear for their economic future, have no use for political parties that want to tax away more of their uncertain incomes in order to assist the unemployed, and to feed the inefficient bureaucracies that stand between them and the assisted.

A vast segment of the political spectrum is thus left vacant. In American politics, that was the space briefly occupied during the 1992 election year by the caprices of Ross Perot and latterly by Buchanan. There was nothing specifically American about Buchanan's message. Just as turbocharged capitalism is a global phenomenon, so is the reaction it has evoked: the neo-Communist electoral victories in Hungary, Poland and Russia, the French riots and strikes, the winning "no" vote in Italy's retail liberalisation referendum, even Carl Bildt's defeat in Sweden's last general election – all derive from the same causes as Buchananism.

If a new political economy cannot emerge to tame the new force, populism in many different local forms may well come to dominate American and European politics. In all cases, it would have to promise more personal economic security to the broad masses of office workers, shopkeepers, industrial workers and government employees now threatened.

The writer is director of Geo Economics at the Centre for International Studies in Washington. This piece is an edited version of a longer article in the current issue of the "London Review of Books".

## DIARY

### The poet in football boots

Poets and novelists increasingly feel it incumbent upon them to talk about soccer when they're not writing about it, so it's only fair that those involved in soccer should start to see themselves as men of letters. I see that Paul Gazzola will be signing copies of his authorised biography, *Gazzza*, at Dillons on Thursday in what Dillons

here," the versifier replied. "I'd rather be here in the studio than any of them bastards." Roll on the cricket season.

### Bookish bookies

The ever-increasing links between literature and sport had me perusing the betting odds for the £25,000 NCR book prize, Britain's major award for non-fiction, as I sauntered through Ladbrokes and William Hill over the weekend. I applaud the bringing together of bookies and book prizes, and hope we will soon

see John McCririck of Channel 4 Racing livening up the interminable prize ceremonies by signalling the fic tac odds at the dinners – 10-1 on newly-capped teeth for Martin Amis etc.

But while both betting shops seemed to agree completely on horse racing, football and snooker odds, they were poles apart at the weekend on the literary form. Ladbrokes has Simon Schama's *Landscape and Memory* as 6-4 favourite, while William Hill makes it 5-1 outsider of four. Hills makes Eric Lomax's *The Railway Man* hot favourite at 5-4, though it's little fancied third of four at 5-2 with Ladbrokes.

What's been going on? Alas, the odds setters have made the cardinal error of becoming too involved with the sport to make a clear-headed judgement. As Paul Austin of Ladbrokes says: "It took me longer than usual to set the odds because I found myself rather absorbed in the books."

### Fun on the viola

The viola player has long been the butt of jokes by other members of the string section if not the whole orchestra, for

reasons best known to musicians. Specialist classical music journals used to run regular viola jokes. And I see that there is now even a viola jokes page on the Internet. It contains such Wildman moments as "Why did the viola player marry the accordionist? Upward mobility." "What is the range of a viola? As far as you can kick it." "How can you tell when a violist is playing out of tune? The bow is moving." What is worrying for viola players is that the Internet site has been visited by over 15,000 people. What exactly have they done to make so many enemies? I seek enlightenment, preferably accompanied by a few more jokes.

### Cheating art

Bleary-eyed MPs waiting for the early morning bus to or from the Commons might suffer a few palpitations on seeing the new poster campaign. They can relax... I think. In menacing print, it warns: "We're picking out the cheats in Westminster." If they rub their eyes, they will see that it's an ad from Westminster City Council, cracking down on benefit fraud.



They have it. Do you?

There is nothing harder to define. I mean from the new, *Harpers and Queen*, than affluence. "More than beauty, more than charm, more than sex appeal, it is subtle, mysterious – and insatiable." An elusive quality indeed. So when the magazine sat down to compile its list of the 50 most alluring women in the world, I suppose you could reasonably expect a surprise or two. A quick scan of the list at the top of the list seems fair enough – Andrew Hepburn, Ava Gardner, Michelle Pfeiffer and Catherine Deneuve all make the top 10. But Nigella Lawson, "roy of the Miford Sitters", and Gwyn Elliot, that little-known boozey ex-horsewoman? What is going on? Sir Philip Dawson, president of the Royal Academy and one of the selection panel, provides a clue: "Affluence is about danger, sharp intelligence. One would like necessarily want to live with such a person." Which must explain why *Rebel* (above right) and *Benzia Bhutto* are apparently more alluring than *Marilyn Monroe* (above left), who just scrapes in at number 51.



Recycled paper made up 34.5% of the raw material for UK newspapers in 1995.

Source - Pulp & Paper Information Centre.

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## Qana: the guilty must be punished

When it was first claimed at the United Nations that the Israelis had deliberately shelled the UN compound at Qana in Lebanon, it seemed almost unbelievable. Yet the UN's investigation into the incident and the accumulation of evidence since backs up the claim. It seems increasingly probable that the Israeli defence forces knew of the presence of refugees in the camp, knew where their shells were landing, and knew that innocent people were being killed. This is not the same as "collateral damage", that much-abused phrase to describe the death of the innocent in the pursuit of the guilty.

The UN report on the incident is also thought to conclude that Hezbollah members had been using the camp as a refuge, after they had set off rockets aimed at Israeli soldiers. Israel may say that there were guerrillas in the camp, and that it was them, not the civilians who were the target. But more than 100 civilians died when the shells exploded over the compound. Far from seeking to avoid this, the Israeli army seems to have calculated that it was an acceptable loss. That typifies the cynical logic that guided Operation Grapes of Wrath from start to finish.

Israel's most recent assault on Lebanon has invited an incident of this kind from the start, and the 100 who died at Qana are by no means the only innocent civilians casualties of the exercise. By relying on bombardment from artillery, gun-boats and aircraft, and abstaining from the commitment of ground troops, Israel left itself with only the bluntest of weapons. Hezbollah is a guerrilla organisation and cannot be targeted in the same way as the infrastructure of a state.

## Men have the right to be protected

To paraphrase Lionel Bart, what's the matter with men today? Part of the answer has to do with changing patterns of men's and women's employment and reward. According to new figures from the Equal Opportunities Commission, more than half the complaints it received last year about sexual discrimination in the search for jobs were from men – a historic reversal in the battle of the sexes.

This seems only to compound other recent prophecies of doom for the male. He has been assailed by falling sperm counts and loss of libido. He has lost his role as father and helpmeet and finds it hard to keep up with the demands of dynamic, go-ahead, and demanding women. Domestic reality is a lot less dramatic than the gender soothsayers would have us believe. None the less, something is happening at those deeper levels of consciousness and sentiment that pollsters find hard to plumb.

That something is not, however, going to happen quickly, nor ought it to compromise the broad principles on which our political and legal systems work, at the heart of which is equal treatment, equal opportunity. One of the paradoxes, indeed, of the Conservative era that may now be passing is how little the government even attempted to turn back the tide of tribunal and court judgments based on equality.

The Equal Opportunities Commission survived several cuts of quango. It has a lot to be modest about, both as an analyst of changing employment and a litigant. Recently the EOC has functioned as a sort of subaltern to the European

incident has ramifications far beyond Lebanon, beyond the Middle East. The United Nations is being taken for a fool again, treated as a dupe. Just as, in Bosnia, the idea of "safe havens" came to be nothing more than a bitter joke, so in Lebanon the UN's humanitarian mission has been mocked in a deadly and cynical way. The concept that the UN can provide shelter for refugees is an important one. It should not be the target of artillery attack. The UN report on the incident must be published, even if it is embarrassing for Israel and the United Nations.

Heads must roll. Someone at a high level in the Israeli military was responsible for this operation, and to show that it is serious about responding to this incident, the Israeli government must find out who and remove him.

That, in itself, is not sufficient. The Qana massacre results directly from a much bigger problem, that of the Israeli attitude towards Lebanon. Israel has the right to defend itself, but that is not the same thing as treating Lebanon as an artillery range, or as a place to prove the virility of the Peres government.

The killings at Qana, indeed the assault upon Lebanon, have solved nothing. In an interview with the *Independent on Sunday*, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's leader, has committed the organisation to further attacks on Israeli targets. The "peace" that was reached is in effect little more than a code of conduct for an ongoing and bloody war. Hezbollah's rocket attacks on Israeli civilians are, of course, unacceptable; but until Israel accepts UN resolution 425 and withdraws from Lebanon, no lasting peace is possible.

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## obituaries/gazette

# Tim Gullikson

As a player, he was only modestly successful. As a coach, he was highly regarded and considerably more accomplished. But the tennis community will mourn the death of Tim Gullikson above and beyond his professional pursuits because he was a man of uncommon decency.

Gullikson fought hard on the court to realise his own goals and took great pride in his ability to help others achieve their objectives, but all of that paled in comparison with the staunch character he revealed all across the globe. He was immensely admired in his field as a fellow who unfailingly displayed integrity, as a man who went about his business in a completely straightforward manner, refusing to cut corners or compromise his principles.

As a competitor, Gullikson was victorious in four tournaments back in 1977 and 1978, although he never had the distinction of becoming a member of the American top ten during his career. He did, however, come up with some big wins in his best afternoons, most notably toppling John McEnroe at Wimbledon in 1979.

Gullikson was approaching the zenith of his talent that year and was seeded No 15 at the All England Club. He collided with the second-seeded McEnroe in the fourth round on the infamous Court 2, a location known to be unfriendly to many of the favourites over the years. In any case, Gullikson put his workmanlike serve-and-volley style to excellent use in dismantling the three time future singles title holder 6-4, 6-2, 6-4 to reach the quarter-finals, losing in the last eight to the formidable Roscoe Tanner.

Four years later, Gullikson

celebrated another remarkable moment at Wimbledon when he reached the 1983 doubles final on Centre court with his twin brother Tom, now the captain of the United States Davis Cup team. The brothers Gullikson were ousted in straight sets by the towering team of John McEnroe and countryman Peter Fleming. Nevertheless, it must have been some consolation to the Gulliksons that they upset the second seeded pair of Steve Denton and Kevin Curran in the semi-finals.

Gullikson's credentials in doubles surpassed his exploits on his own. Altogether, he appeared in no fewer than 29 finals in the 1970s and 1980s, winning 16 titles in the process. The Gullikson brothers were ranked in the US top ten for four consecutive years (1982-85), finishing No 4 for 1982 and 1983 and rising to No 3 in 1985. They were a solid and resourceful partnership with a strong strategic sense.

But by 1986 Gullikson had put his racket aside and moved into a new and suitable role as a coach. He became coach for the leading American players Aaron Krickstein and Mary Joe Fernandez. He guided Martina Navratilova through the 1988 season and resurrected her game in some subtle yet significant ways. But his most rewarding coaching assignment came about in 1992 when he started working with the gifted but as yet unpolished Pete Sampras. The two Americans established an immediate rapport and Sampras responded exceedingly well to Gullikson's sound and appropriate simple advice.

As Gullikson once said of Sampras: "Pete is very coachable because he is a very logical guy with a very open

attitude, very much his own man but still very adaptable. He is the type of player that if you work on things six months past and he sees they have worked, six months later he will be doing those things again. We approach the game in a similar way so I don't make it more than it is because in reality it is not that complicated. He is willing to listen to people he feels make sense. It is working really well for both of us."

Gullikson was thoroughly delighted when Sampras elevated his game so dramatically during their time together. He helped Sampras to achieve the No 1 world ranking for the first time in April 1993 and was exhilarated as Sampras took over as the game's dominant player and established himself as one of the all-time greats. It seemed entirely possible that Gullikson would be Sampras's coach for a decade. They got along remarkably well. They both looked to the long term. They shared the same goals. But then in the autumn of 1994 it was apparent that something was going wrong with Gullikson's health.

That autumn Gullikson collapsed in his hotel room in Stockholm and was found bleeding on a coffee table by a colleague, who took him to hospital. It was erroneously assumed that he had fainted because he had recently started a strict diet and was therefore weak. But a few months later - in December 1994 - Gullikson was taken to the hospital during the Grand Slam Cup in Munich and was believed to have suffered a minor stroke. He went home to Wheaton, Illinois, to rest and insiders assumed that he would take some time off and perhaps not make the journey with Sampras to

Melbourne for the 1995 Australian Open.

That surprisingly was not the case. Doctors gave Gullikson the green light to go to Australia. Once again, he became ill. Sampras sensed during a practice session that Gullikson "didn't look right" and he was sent to hospital. It was at that time that doctors realised just how serious Gullikson's condition was. Before Sampras confronted his countryman Jim Courier in the quarter-finals, Gullikson flew home to Illinois where it was determined soon afterwards that he had four cancerous brain tumours.

When Sampras contested his match with Courier, he was down two sets to love and then rallied to reach a fifth set. Early in that final set, a fan screamed out to Sampras, "Win it for your coach, Pete." Sampras began sobbing into a towel at the next changeover and he continued to fight in vain to hold back the tears in his next service game. Somehow, he summoned the strength to win that match and despite losing in the final of that event to Andre Agassi, Sampras had triumphed on an emotional level with the public as he had never done before.

As Sampras later recalled of that emotional moment in the Courier match, "I just cracked at that stage. I had this mental picture of Tim lying in the hospital bed and I kind of broke down... Tim is a great guy, doesn't have a bad bone in his body and then he gets four brain tumours. It just showed me how vulnerable we all are to things like this. It put everything into perspective for me... I want to win every match I play but that is not the most important thing in life. Your health is what matters most."

Gullikson went through nu-

merous chemotherapy treatments in the next 17 months after Australia. Sampras dedicated his 1995 Wimbledon and US Open triumphs to Gullikson. And then in the last couple of months Gullikson's inner circle realised his health was worsening. He was losing the fight after a long and courageous battle. Sampras had two important commitments in April in Hong Kong and Tokyo, but he went to visit Gullikson both before and after those tournaments, knowing that his close friend might not be around much longer. Gullikson passed away last Friday afternoon. And what so few realised was that Sampras had lost much more than a coach: he had lost a cherished friend and a man he admired immensely.

As Sampras remembered, a difficult stretch he went through during the early stages of 1995 as he tried to come to terms with the magnitude of Gullikson's situation, he reflected fondly on Gullikson's positive outlook and unshakable spirit. "I had lost in the first round of the French Open," Sampras said, "and I was down. I spoke to Tim and he encouraged me to go to London and get ready for Wimbledon with a good attitude. He told me to think about winning my third Wimbledon in a row. And I was talking to him about this while he was going through the toughest fight of his life, dealing with treatment and this and that. And here he was telling me to have a good attitude. There was a bit of irony in that."

Steve Flink

*Tim Gullikson, tennis player and coach; born La Crosse, Wisconsin 8 September 1951; married Rosemary Ledvora (one son, one daughter); died Wheaton, Illinois 3 May 1996.*



A strong strategic sense: Gullikson went on to coach Pete Sampras and other leading US players

## Rodney Thomas

In another country, perhaps France or America, Rodney Thomas would have been better known, and properly honoured. Sadly, in Britain, his unique talents as a creative thinker, as a visionary and dreamer, above all as a research architect, have been largely ignored. The last exhibition devoted to his work was in 1967, and though it was widely praised at the time, since then his reputation has gradually faded, only kept alive by a devoted band of friends and admirers. It is to be hoped that the long-awaited publication of his memoirs will help to rekindle interest in one of the most versatile and inventive architectural minds of a generation.

Rodney Thomas was born in 1902 into a family of architects. His father, Ernest Montague Thomas, was soon to be appointed consulting architect to the government in Madras, and the family duly emigrated. Memories of Thomas's early years in India resurfaced towards the end of his life in colourful paintings of forests and birds of a jewel-like brilliance. When he came to the age to be formally educated, Rod was sent back to England where he did not shine academically. After the tragically early deaths of his parents, he was taken up by his architect uncle, Sir Brunel Thomas, and sent to Eton. Brum, as Rod called him, was a highly successful architect, already knighted for services to town halls (John Belcher much admired his Belfast City Hall), who kept a wonderfully eccentric salon in Albany. To this came a varied assortment of writers and musicians, among them Noel Coward, Ivor Novello and Marie Corelli.

Brum dissuaded Rod from becoming the painter he wished to be, maintaining - ironically in the circumstances - that architects stood a better chance of employment. Thomas was put to study architecture at London University, but spent more time drawing and painting at the Slade nearby. He also attended the Byam Shaw School of Art and the sculptor Leon Underwood's private school in Hammersmith, West London, where he met Henry Moore and the future Surrealist



Photograph: Derrick Santini

is Eileen Agar, who was to become a lifelong friend.

In 1923 Thomas travelled with Underwood and the wood engraver Blair Hughes-Stanton to Iceland, an unusual trip for the period. Indeed Rod Thomas's pre-war activities were blithely diverse: he worked with his uncle and with the architects Giles Gilbert Scott, Louis de Soissons and Grey Worms; he did interior decoration for Eileen Agar (all chic curves: some of the studio and living area furniture is now in the V&A) and for the graphic designer Ashley Havinden; he worked for Crawfords Advertising Agency and the Southern Railway, and arranged the window displays for Simpsons in Piccadilly. He also designed exhibition displays and showrooms for Ascot Heaters.

Until 1939, Thomas had his own architectural and design

practice. After some hilarious episodes in the Home Guard, at the end of the Second World War Thomas helped to found the Arcon group, with Eric Neale, Ragni Squire (Sir Jack's son), and Jim Gear. This partnership was massive to cope with the massive demand for temporary housing: Thomas was the mastermind behind the Mark V prefabricated house, 40,000 of which were built - some of them still lived in and loved to this day.

The success of this project encouraged Thomas to set up a research unit to investigate the further possibilities of technical collaboration between architects and industry. ICI, United Steel and Taylor Woodrow were among the companies involved. Thomas ran totally informal ateliers in Seymour Walk, Chelsea, attended by artists such as Elisabeth Frink and Lynn Chadwick (who always

credits Thomas with inspiring his early mobiles), and young engineers and architects who worked on realising Thomas's ideas.

Plans for building and equipping overseas housing were drawn up for the ill-fated Ground-Nut Scheme in Tanganyika in 1949. The drawings for a town to be cut out of the jungle are beautiful, the furniture prototypes spare, elegant and practical. Typically the scheme founded, but in the same year, 1951, Thomas saw his design for the Festival of Britain's Transport Pavilion erected on the South Bank to great acclaim. An ultra-modern building (Thomas admired Le Corbusier), its great sloping front wall of glass displayed aeroplanes hung from the ceiling and locomotives on the floor.

The work of Thomas's research team went on, investi-

gating the problems of joining prefabricated units. This may sound dull, but if you can successfully join standard units, no two of which are ever identical (like the bricklayer "equalising" his bricks with mortar), you've solved the basic problem of prefabrication. Thomas's real discoveries in this area never caught on.

Rod Thomas was a modest man, but he did not think modestly. His experience was wide and he drew inspiration from painting and from the natural world, and by bringing to bear his own brand of imaginative sympathy on today's environmental problems, he produced guidelines for a more integrated future.

His last great project was for a sky city, the ideas for which he developed from the 1950s onwards. His plan was to build upwards organically on the spiral, basing his designs on the way lupin blossoms are arranged around the flower's stem. The idea was to take the earth up with you into the sky, in the shape of gardens and piazzas, and to dwell in perpetual sunlight. It was a dream, but a good dream, and sustained him through years of little architectural work, a lot of teaching and consistent drawing and painting.

Thomas helped his third wife, the poet Joan Thomas, to arrange poetry readings in a studio which had once been a part of Sir Thomas More's stable block. Such assorted luminaries as Laurie Lee and Edward Lucie-Smith came to read. Thomas continued to paint even when his sight was almost gone, devising new ways of drawing by touch and of differentiating colours. He lived a full life, and if many of his projects were unrealised (innovative designs for Coventry Cathedral, the Royal College of Arts and for a canopy over a reclining Buddha), he was undaunted, retaining till the end in the title words of his autobiography - *A Sense of Wonder*.

Andrew Lambirth

*Rodney Meredith Thomas, painter and architect; born London 4 May 1902; married three times (two sons, one daughter); died London 26 April 1996.*

A life-long interest in natural history, combined with outstanding ability and a commitment to excellence, enabled Peter Miller to make impressive contributions to four fields of endeavour: zoological research, education, nature conservation and personal relationships. His research, for which he was recognised internationally, was distinguished by an unusual, exceptionally productive application of his talent for exploring connections between physiology, behaviour and ecology.

After completing his National Service in 1951 he attended Downing College, Cambridge, obtaining First Class Honours in Part One and Part Two Zoology of the Natural Sciences Tripos and being awarded the Frank Smart Prize for Zoology. During his PhD work that followed he held a Junior Research Fellowship at Downing College. From 1959 to 1962 he was a Lecturer in the Zoology Department of Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda (now Makerere University), thus establishing his strong and lasting affection for the tropics, subsequently manifest in visits to many countries, often with members of his family, visiting zoologists in universities and studying insects.

In 1962 Miller left Uganda to become Lecturer in Zoology at Oxford University, where from 1964 until his retirement in 1994 he was Fellow and Tutor at the Queen's College. At Oxford he soon became widely respected for the excellence of his research on insects, being awarded the prestigious Medal of the Zoological Society of London in 1972. Until the early 1980s he explored physiology and neural control, primarily of respiration but also of rhythmic and motor behaviour, ventilation and learning. His international standing at that time is reflected in the autograph of his research on insects, for micro-anatomical dissection and for quantifying neural processes - allowed him to reveal much of the structural and behavioural framework on which dragonfly reproduction is based. This work has far-reaching comparative value and provides a definitive reference point for future contributions to the field.

Other products of his interest in dragonflies have been his stimulation and training of postgraduate students, authorship of two editions of a book on British dragonflies - a model of its genre - and active participation in the British Dragonfly Society, as Vice-President and as member of the Dragonfly Conservation Group. Increasingly in later years Miller's energies were directed

towards conservation of dragonflies and their habitats, especially through facilitating involvement of young people and non-specialists. Those who knew this will derive satisfaction from the knowledge that a memorial appeal will further the aims in education, research and conservation to which he was dedicated.

During retirement Miller had planned to spend several months each year working at Makerere University, teaching entomology and collecting material for a proposed book on dragonflies of Uganda. For this endeavour he had been awarded a Professorship by the Third World Academy of Science. It was while in Uganda in February that he was struck down by the illness that caused his death in Oxford a few weeks later.

Besides being a talented researcher and teacher, Peter Miller possessed other qualities that commanded respect and affection and that enhanced his effectiveness - as a critic, advocate and innovator. Though presenting ideas lucidly and persuasively, he was unfailingly courteous and gentle; and he exhibited charm and generosity of spirit.

Peter is survived by his widow Kate, also a biologist, a daughter and a son, to all of whom he was devoted and from whom he received constant love and support. An abiding memory for friends who visited the family will be the warmth and stimulus of their hospitality.

**Philip Corbet**  
*Peter Miller, entomologist, conservationist; born Edinburgh 20 May 1931; Fellow, Queen's College, Oxford 1964-94; Dean of Graduates 1972-94; Scientific Medallist, Zoological Society of London 1972; married 1959 Kate Palmer (one son, one daughter); died Oxford 24 March 1996.*

**David M. Kennedy**, banker and politician, died Salt Lake City, Utah 1 May, aged 90. US Treasury Secretary 1968-70 under President Richard Nixon, his tenure was marked by eco-

nomic problems and Wall Street controversy. Chairman, Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust, from 1959. Jack Weston, actor, died New York 3 May, aged 71. Played

character roles in films including *Wait Until Dark* (1967, with Audrey Hepburn), *Cactus Flower* (1969), *Please Don't Eat the Daisies* (1960) and *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1968).

**Henry Edge**, to be a member of the Legal Aid Board, serving as deputy chairman.

**Mr Roger Andre Venne**, to be Deputy Secretary of Commissions.

**Mr S. Michael D. Brown**, to be a member of the Council on Tribunals.

**Mr Albert Paul Powell**, to be a district judge, on the North Eastern Circuit.

**Mr Charles Andrew Hamilton Gibson**, and **Mr David Wyn Radford**, to be circuit judges, on the South Eastern Circuit.

**Mr John Nelligan** and **Mr Richard Price**, to be circuit judges, on the Western Circuit.

**Mr David Dand McEvoy QC**, to be a circuit judge, on the Midland and Oxford Circuit.

**Mr Kevin Edward Barnett**, to be a circuit judge, on the Wales and Chester Circuit.

**Appointments**

**The Prince of Wales**, to be Royal Patron of ActionAid.

**Mr Deonil Anton Lush**, to be Master of the Court of Protection.

**Changing of the Guard**  
The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 11am; 1st Battalion Irish Guards mounts the Queen's Guard, at Buckingham Palace, 11.30am, band provided by the Grenadier Guards.

**Announcements for Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorial services, Wedding anniversaries, In Memoriam)** should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL, telephoned to 0171-293 2014 or faxed to 0171-293 2010, and are charged at 25.50 a line (VAT extra). OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS should be submitted in writing (or faxed) and charged at £10 a line, VAT extra. They should be accompanied by a day-time telephone number.

**Birthdays**  
Sir John Arnold, former High Court Judge, 81; General Sir Jeremy Blacker, former Master-General of the Ordnance, 57; Sir Tony Blair MP, Leader of the Opposition, 43; Miss Sean Brown, actress, 50; Professor Rosemary Cramp, archaeologist, 67; Miss Joan Dunham, actress, 80; Sir Frank Ernest, former Baillie of Jersey, 77; Mr Robert Felt, former executive, Stock Exchange, 75; Miss Alessandra Ferri, ballerina, 33; Mr Neil Foster, cricketer, 34; Major John Hamilton-Jones, consultant, Cable Defense Systems, 70; Mr John Henderson, former Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire, 76; Mr Charles Hendry MP, 37; Mr John Hutton MP, 41; Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Martell, 84; Mr Fred Randal, jazz trumpeter, 75; Mr Alan Ross, author and publisher, 74;

The Right Rev John Taylor, former Bishop of St Albans, 67; Mr Norman Whiteside, footballer, 31.

**Anniversaries**  
Sirthe Frans Francken the Younger, painter, 1581; Lorenzo Lippi, poet and painter, 1606; Andre Massene, due de Rivoli, Prince d'Essling, French marshal and soldier, 1756; Maximilien-François Marie-Isidore de Robespierre, French revolutionary, 1793; Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, philosopher, 1781; Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, violinist and composer, 1814; Sigmund Freud, neurologist and psychoanalyst, 1856; Robert Edwin Peary, Arctic explorer, 1856; Luis Maria Drago, statesman, 1859; William Edmund, first Baron Ironside, soldier, 1880; Franz von Lenbach, painter, 1894; Edward VII, King

1889; Rudolph Valentino (Rodolfo Raffaele Piero Philibert Guglielmi di Valentina d'Ant

# 17 business

THE INDEPENDENT • Monday 6 May 1996

BUSINESS NEWS DESK: tel 0171-293 2530 fax 0171-293 2098

**BRIEFS**  
by-pass  
shortline

## BSkyB confirms negotiations with Virgin

MAGNUS GRIMOND

Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB satellite television group yesterday confirmed that it had held talks about launching a cable and satellite channel with Virgin, the airline to financial services conglomerate controlled by Richard Branson.

Virgin has employed Jeremy Fox, a high-profile mainstream broadcaster, to pursue the discussions, which indicate that Mr Branson continues to harbour ambitions to move into television broadcasting despite the

failure of his £22m bid to run Britain's fifth television channel last year.

The two entrepreneurs are not unknown to each other. Virgin Radio, which represents Mr Branson's only current broadcasting licence, is available to BSkyB subscribers across Europe as one of several radio stations broadcast via the group's satellite audio channels.

A spokesman for BSkyB said yesterday: "We talk to a number of parties in the course of our business and, yes, we have had discussions with Virgin." He

added that it was fair to say the talks were at an early stage. He refused to confirm a report that the negotiations, said to have been initiated by BSkyB, involved plans for a channel appealing to a young, upmarket adult audience, with an emphasis on entertainment, travel and humour.

Virgin's media representative, Will Whitehorn, said there had been some tentative discussions between the two sides, but described them as "protozoan" at this stage. "We have retained Jeremy Fox to research

the future viability of being in the television business as a broadcaster, instead of being just a programme-maker and facilities manager as we are at present. He has had tentative discussions with several individual players who have approached him, but things have not gone any further at this stage.

BSkyB seems to have singled out Virgin as a suitable partner after research or brand names revealed that the Virgin name elicits a favourable response from potential subscribers. Virgin

has also clearly demonstrated its interest in extending its broadcasting activities. As well as Virgin Radio, the group owns 50 per cent of Rapido Television, an independent programme producer whose output, like Channel 4's *Euromast*, is geared towards the youth market. It also owns Rusties and West One Television, said to be the UK's biggest post-production companies.

But Mr Branson's hopes of becoming a fully-fledged television broadcaster were dashed by his failure last October to be

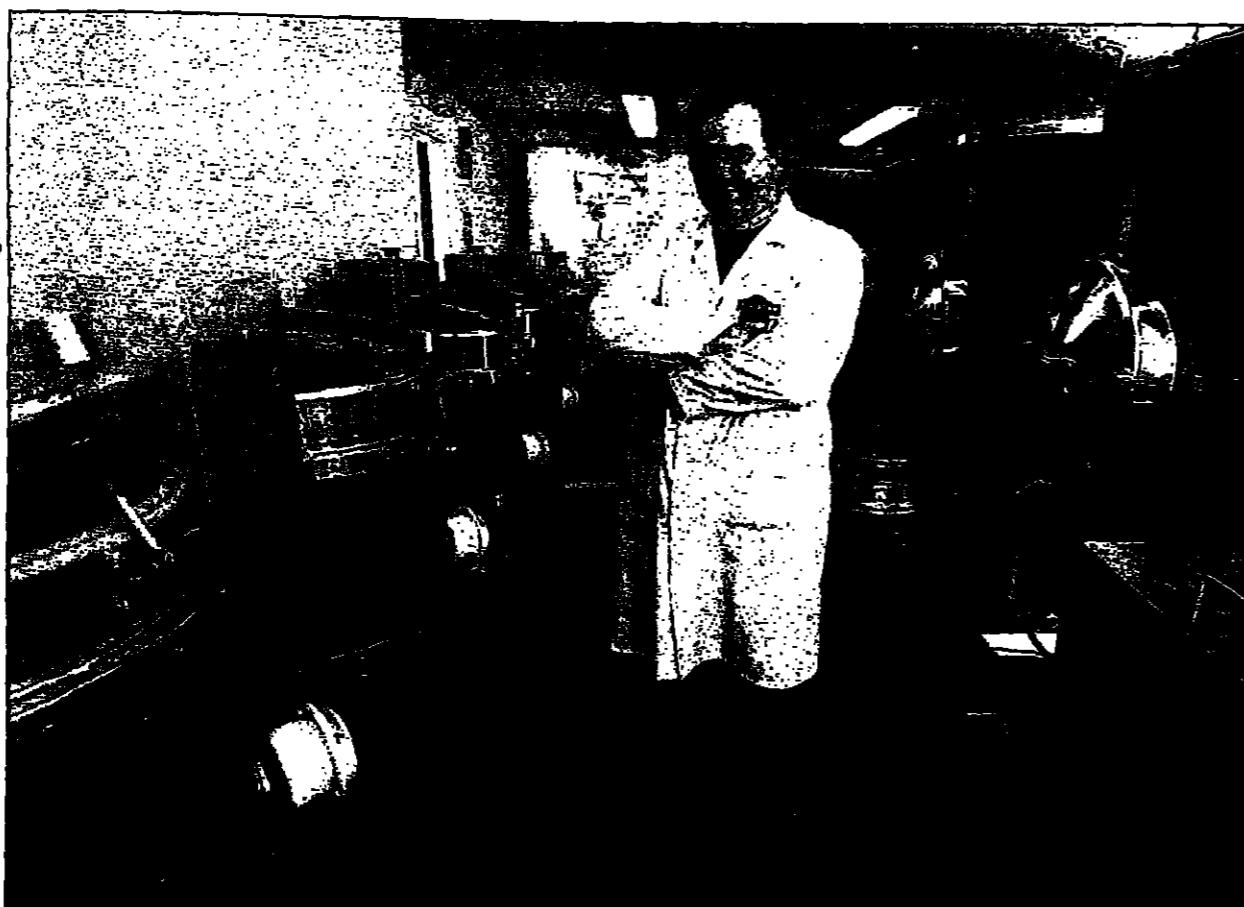
picked to run the new Channel 5 franchise. Despite submitting exactly the same £22m offer as the winning bidder, Greg Dyke's Channel 5 Broadcasting, its Virgin Television was turned down by the Independent Television Commission. In January, Virgin and two other unsuccessful bidders failed again when the High Court threw out their challenge to the ITC's ruling. The three had claimed that the commission had acted unfairly and unlawfully in awarding the licence to Channel 5 Broadcast-

ing after the company had increased the guaranteed funding of its business plan by £100m. BSkyB was also an unsuccessful bidder in the Channel 5 licensing round. But its domination of European cable and satellite makes it, in effect, gatekeeper to the industry, giving it an extremely strong bargaining position. The deal said to have been offered to Mr Branson was for BSkyB to provide access to its five million subscribers for any joint venture, in exchange for which Virgin would provide financing and take a stake.



Richard Branson: TV hopes have been dashed once

Tom Stevenson reports on a brew-it-yourself success story



Hopping on the bandwagon: Toby Mynott in his state-of-the-art-brewery in Canterbury

Photograph: Edward Sykes

## 'Angels' back the pint that sinks taxman

pints and current capacity is limited to 20 of these a day.

It's all fairly idiot-proof and a great deal of fun. Having become a member of the brewery (£25.00 for a trial three months) you pick one of 14 different beers, all using local Kentish hops and ranging from a light bitter (40p a pint for members) to a non-seasonal ale (63p a pint).

Having decided on your tipple you follow the recipe, weigh out the hops and barley, brew it up and cask it. It's less than two hours' work on your first visit. A week later you return to bottle, label and take it home.

One of the things that makes

Great Stour special is an in-house design service, which allows you to take advantage of a pause in the brewing process to sit down at a computer and design your own label. You can scan in photos and make a thoroughly professional-looking, personalised product that matches the high quality of the brew it contains.

But make no mistake, Great Stour is no jump-up home-brew operation. Mr Mynott has sunk £300,000 into building a state-of-the-art brewery in the middle of Canterbury.

Great Stour is no different from the newest Bass or Guinness operation except in scale – each brew produces about 100

separation he made under the auspices of *Venture Capital Report*, an Oxford-based publication that brings bright ideas such as Great Stour together with the business angels with the capital to get them off the ground.

Mr Mynott's backers were attracted by the potential for Great Stour to tap the corporate entertainment market. They agreed there could hardly be a better promotional tool than a unique drink, customised for a company, service or event.

For businesses that can't be bothered to do the brewing, Great Stour even has an arrangement with a local micro-brewery to produce a dury-pint brewery to produce a dury-pint

The business, which also has a shop and plans for a museum of brewing, rolled out its first barrels at the beginning of April and already claims to have received encouraging interest from France, Germany and Holland from groups wanting to arrange weekend brewing tours.

A deal with P&O or Sally Lines is a possibility, helped by Great Stour's location in a tourist city that attracts 2.5 million visitors a year, and the com-

pany is proud of its small part in putting the so-called booze cruise into reverse.

It is early days yet, and Mr Mynott is still at the stage of working seven days a week to ensure the £65,000 he has put into the business does not go to the eventual way of his beer. But further out, there is plainly great scope for franchised operations around the country and a listing on the Alternative Investment Market is being considered.

Great Stour's success in rais-

ing the £300,000 it needed to spend before a single pint was brewed showed that for the right idea funds are available.

Having made a presentation to potential investors on a Friday last November, Mr Mynott was already launching one interested "angel" the following Tuesday and banking a cheque for £60,000 within a few weeks. Four months later he was open for business.

To have his company profiled in *Venture Capital Report* he paid £250 and another £100 to present his business plan to investors a month later. The VCR route produced six investors, who provided £104,250 towards Great Stour's start-up costs, not a bad return on a relatively small investment in money, time and effort.

Since it was set up in 1978, VCR has brought thousands of investors and entrepreneurs together. Typically, 15-25 per cent of the companies it features raise funds from its subscribers.

The Great Stour Brewery Tel: 01227 763579; *Venture Capital Report* Tel: 01865 784412

## No let-up in biotech bonanza

MAGNUS GRIMOND

The bonanza in fledgling biotechnology companies showed no sign of letting up last week, as two more announced flotation plans and a third saw its shares return from suspension.

This rush to market has been largely inspired by the extraordinary rise of British Biotech, undisputed king of the sector, which, with its shares now just a whisker short of £20, is valued at over £1.7bn. Ahead of expected good news on its Marimastat anti-cancer drug later this month, the whole sector has outperformed the rest of the stock market for several weeks.

The sort of valuations being attached to such companies have always been questionable, given the general absence of profits and the lack of any marketable product. But the risks increase as more come to market and the rich pickings available to shareholders and

directors from a flotation blind investors to concerns about the quality of what is on offer.

Certainly, even by the gravity-defying standards of the current frenzy, PPL Therapeutics has more hope built into its expected valuation than most.

The company, which grew out of a government research institute near Edinburgh, had caught the headlines long before last week's announcement that it was seeking a stock market flotation in early June. Its technology, using genetically altered sheep to produce milk containing pharmaceutical proteins, has raised ethical questions.

So far none of its products is even in clinical trials. The best near-term prospect is Alpha-1-Antitrypsin for use against cystic fibrosis. Tests could start by the end of the year, with the product not expected to be on the market until the year 2001. PPL's brokers, NatWest Securities, have issued projections

"for illustrative purposes only" showing ultimate sales of £2.5bn and profits of £440m following the launch of 11 of its key products stretching out as far as 2008, but even they admit these estimates are "highly speculative".

SkyePharma, the former manager of Black & Deppington, has more than quintupled in size following the completion of a deal worth up to £205m to take over Jago, a private Swiss drugs company. Jago has developed novel drug delivery technologies which it is claimed can reduce the dosage required of a particular drug or increase its ability to target a particular area of the body.

The main asset behind SkyePharma is Ian Gowrie-Smith, its executive chairman and the man behind the phenomenal initial success of Medeva, another drugs group. His reputation was tarnished after Medeva fell foul of the US Food and Drug Administra-

tion. Clearly SkyePharma represents his way of proving himself, but with the company valued at £274m after the shares' return from suspension at 79p he has a lot to live up to.

Arguably a safer bet is Vanguard Medical, which will be valued at £111m by its placing this week at 450p a share. The strategy is to pick up promising drugs currently in development at larger groups which their current owners regard as too small or unrelated to their main area of expertise. The expensive process of discovering new drugs itself is therefore obviated, while the risk is further reduced by involving partners to develop and possibly market any successful products.

The risks remain however and any true value in the sector could take years to emerge. In the meantime, a serious setback for one of the larger groups could bring the whole edifice crashing down.

Embrace the potential of the stock market

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## SCIENCE

Edited by  
Tom Wilkie

# Wave away the material world

A single molecule can be shown to exist in two places at once, according to new experiments in quantum mechanics. Could the same be true of living creatures? Andrew Watson reports

We live in a world of comforting solidity in which everything has its place and nothing can be in two places at once. Yet a series of experiments carried out in France, Russia, and the US last year is undermining our perceptions of the way the world is. Some things can indeed be in two places at once – possibly even living creatures – and the reassuring solidity of our material world appears to be illusory.

Matter, the rigid "stuff" we see all around us, isn't really hard little pellets all stuck together but is mostly waves and empty space. It certainly seems as if matter is pretty hard stuff. For instance, salt crystals are so hard that it takes a grinder to reduce chunky ones to a more palatable size. Salt is an assembly of sodium and chlorine atoms. As such it is reasonably typical of the way atoms stick together, the building blocks of bulk material.

But sodium atoms can do some fancy things, according to David Pritchard of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States. In his laboratory at MIT, Professor Pritchard sent a beam of sodium atoms towards a thin foil, just a few millionths of a metre thick and placed edge-on. The beam split in two and passed on opposite sides of the foil. But when a detector at the far end started to register the atoms coming through, it showed a remarkable banded pattern, "bright" bands where many atoms were detected separated by "dark" bands where few were arrived.

The pattern is distinctive and well known: it is an interference pattern, the signature not of solid particles but of ethereal waves. The pattern arises typically with "real" waves such as water waves and sound. The crests of two waves reinforce each other to give bright patches, while crests of one wave cancel out troughs in the other to give no waves, resulting in dark patches. The inescapable conclusion is that sodium atoms behave like waves.

That is surprising enough, but what is really difficult to comprehend is that "each atom interferes only with itself," according to Professor Pritchard. He explained that each incoming sodium atom was spaced about a metre apart from the other.

ers, so that there was little chance of two atoms overlapping.

In other words, a single atom passed both sides of the foil simultaneously. What emerged then recombined to give an interference pattern. Each atom passed on both sides of an impenetrable barrier. The same thing would happen with lots of spaced sheets of foil, or equivalently a barrier with slots cut in it. It's as though when confronted by a row of supermarket check-outs a shopper passes through all of them at once. It's that bizarre.

This is the quantum nature of our universe revealed. And the reason it happens is that

It's as though when confronted by a row of supermarket check-outs a shopper passes through all of them at once

nature is like that: there is no deeper explanation. "Objects really propagate according to a wave-like equation that agrees with classical predictions only if you do not look carefully enough," said Professor Pritchard.

"Your intuitive notion that the atom has to have a location at all times is incorrect."

The first MIT sodium atom interference experiment was reported in 1991. In the same journal issue appeared details of a similar experiment by Oliver Carmel and Juergen Mlynek at the University of Konstanz in Germany using helium. Scientists were pleased but not surprised: they had expected it, based on earlier work with tiny fundamental "particles" that also displayed wave-like properties. But early in 1995, Professor Pritchard's group went one step further, showing that molecules of two sodium atoms also show wave-like properties.

"Our experiments have shown that even 'large' objects like molecules behave like waves," said Professor Pritchard. Christian Bordé and his collaborators at the Université Paris-Nord in France have shown

interference effects in experiments using iodine molecules, and a Russian group has done similar experiments with even heavier molecules such as osmium tetroxide.

How big can we go? "This is clearly an underlying theme of our research; to push quantum mechanics and the observation of quantum effects toward macroscopic objects. It's just a question of developing gentle technique as far as I can see," said Professor Pritchard.

Recently they have published results on an experiment so difficult the great American physicist Richard Feynman proposed it only as a "thought" experiment, one that demonstrates a principle but which is too hard to do in practice.

What Professor Pritchard's group has done is to watch for sodium atoms as they emerge from above or below the foil divider, using single particles of light called photons. When they do this, they find that the results show each atom suddenly spoils the game by going above or below the divider, and the interference vanishes. Atoms no longer behave like waves.

If quantum mechanics is correct, it had to be this way. Quantum mechanics says that as soon as the experimenter has a way of determining where an atom or some other particle has gone, then the wave-like aspect vanishes. In terms of the quantum supermarket, the reality of having to pay a cashier means that the shopper is effectively tracked, and a quantum shopper wouldn't show wave-like behaviour after all.

So there is a limit to how strange the quantum world is. "We showed that shining a single photon of light on a system will destroy its quantum interference," he said. "We also showed that quantum coherence is easier to destroy in bigger systems. This suggests that quantum coherence explains ESP or other strange correlations over large distances in the face of our results."

Quantum mechanics as a way of explaining ESP may be dead, but Professor Pritchard has done a simple calculation that should make philosophers sit up and take notice. Imagine if a living organism could show wave-like properties. Then passing it both sides of a thin foil to give an interference pattern would mean that in some sense this living organism is in two places at once.

"I calculated that we could see interference of large bacteria if we could let them spend about a year in our interferometer, and could keep it from vibrating during this time," said Professor Pritchard. There is a catch, however: "Unfortunately they wouldn't really be living – we would have to cool them almost to absolute zero to keep the heat photons they radiate spontaneously from messing up the interference pattern." So philosophers are safe – for the moment.

Corals are mostly dead. Living tissue is found only on the tips of what is in fact a skeleton.

The skeleton is composed of calcium carbonate, but coral

also incorporates other chemicals into this structure so that

each layer of "bone" is actually that

occurs by examining coral skeletons.

During times of heavy rain, more soil is washed into the rivers and then the sea. One of

the components of soil, fulvic acid, is incorporated in coral, and under an ultra-violet light

shows up in fluorescent bands.

Man-made pollution is also

recorded by coral. In Panama, where the oil industry is active,

one of the chemicals in oil, van-



Russell Sach/News Team

they are stressed in any way, will slow down their growth (a maximum of 2cm a year) and may take years to recover.

Because of their sensitivity, and the way corals integrate chemicals into their skeletons, even more precise climate changes can be recorded. Dr Peter Isle, of the Australian Institute of Marine Science in Queensland, was able to estimate the amount of rainfall that occurs by examining coral skeletons. Corals are mostly dead. Living tissue is found only on the tips of what is in fact a skeleton. The skeleton is composed of calcium carbonate, but coral also incorporates other chemicals into this structure so that each layer of "bone" is actually that occurs by examining coral skeletons. During times of heavy rain, more soil is washed into the rivers and then the sea. One of the components of soil, fulvic acid, is incorporated in coral, and under an ultra-violet light shows up in fluorescent bands.

Corals are extremely sensitive to any changes in light, temperature and salinity. Just as cold weather causes trees to lay down narrow annual rings, corals, if

amount a coral grew in a day by examining the skeleton under a microscope and vaporising a tiny sample with an ultra-violet laser. The particles of coral are then analysed to see what kind of chemicals have been used to help build the coral's skeleton on that particular day.

This new technique may also help prove – or disprove – a new theory on how coral grows.

Dr David Barnes, from the Australian Institute of Marine Science, has shown that a coral skeleton is a lattice made up of

horizontal buttresses and vertical rods and that these vertical rods may be growing both up and out at the same time. Dr Lidard describes a rod as if it were a pencil. "As the tip of the pencil extends, it also thickens all the way down." So cutting these rods lengthways will allow the team to analyse a complete set of the daily growth rings for the coral.

Dr Lidard's techniques could one day be used to enable coral to act as spies in the sea to provide evidence of pollution, for example, when chemical companies evade the law.

## Beautiful spies in the sea

Like tree rings, the structure of coral records layers of history. A new technique for reading it could help in the fight against marine pollution. By Sanjida O'Connell

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Man-made pollution is also

recorded by coral. In Panama, where the oil industry is active,

one of the chemicals in oil, van-

adium, is picked up by corals, researchers from Newcastle University discovered. The greater the spillage, the more vanadium found in the indigenous coral.

The corals Dr Lidard studies are reef-building, massive corals which have lived for as long as 50 years. Fossil corals can provide an even more impressive record of climate change stretching back for thousands of years.

Up to now, coral analysis could only provide an estimate of when events happened. Looking at annual rings is like taking the average figure for pollution or climate change in a year. "If you want bulk measurement, it's OK," says Dr Lidard. The technique she is developing in collaboration with the British Geological Survey involves pinpointing the exact

date when a coral died. "It's like a complete set of the daily growth rings for the coral.

Dr Lidard's techniques could one day be used to enable coral to act as spies in the sea to provide evidence of pollution, for example, when chemical companies evade the law.

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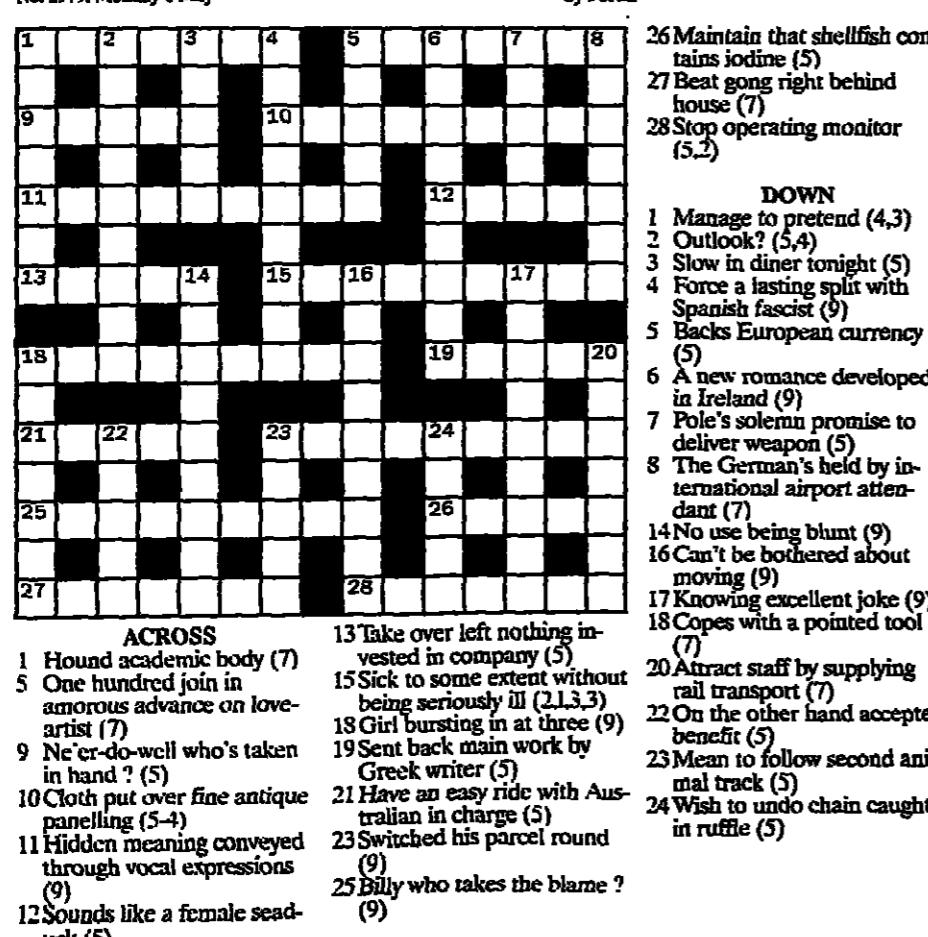
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